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John Carter Brown.

1. Raleigh - Sir W. Knight — The Discoverie &c. of Guiana.
London. 1596.

2. Keymis — A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana.
London. 1596.

Very rare. With a brilliant impression of the rare Portrait of Raleigh by Simon Pass. —

Portrait inserted.

Perfect S. W. with both Voyages S. W.

# A Relation of the

*ſecond Voyage to*
Guiana.

Perfourmed and written in the yeare 1596.
*By Lawrence Keymis*, Gent.

Imprinted at London by *Thomas Dawſon*,
dwelling at the three Cranes in the Vintree,
and are there to be ſolde.
1596.

AMORE ET VIRTVTE

# TO THE APPROOVED,

right valorous, and woorthy Knight, Sir Walter Ralegh, *Lord Warden of the Stanneries, Captaine of her Maiesties Guard, and her Highneſſe Lieutenant general of the Countie of Cornwall.*

THaue heere briefflie ſet downe the effect of this your ſecond Diſcouerie, without anie enlargement of made wordes: for in this argument, ſingle ſpeech beſt beſemeth a ſimple truth. Where the affinity of the matter with your perſon, leadeth me to write of your ſelfe, vnto your ſelfe: that ſmall libertie which I haue therein vſed, ſhall, I doubt not, without offence, or ſiniſter conſtruction, be giuen to the cauſe in hand: which whether it ſuffer not detriment, by attributing leſſe, then of right belongeth: the iudgement be theirs, that vprightly and indifferentlie ſhall weigh

the conſequentes of their euill purpoſe, who in ſeeking to detract from the Authour of theſe Diſcoueries, do ſo much as in them lyeth, wound, deface, and treade vnder foot the thing it ſelfe. But this is no noueltie, nor proper only to theſe our dayes. For long ſince it hath bene ſaid. *Laudes eo vſque ſunt tolerabiles, donec ea dicuntur, quæ auditores ſe quoque facere poſſe exiſtimant: ſi maiora proferantur: Inuident, non credunt.* The feruent zeale and loyaltie of your mind in labour with this birth of ſo honourable expectation, as it hath deſerued a recompence farre different ſo needeth it not my poore ſuffrage to endeare the toyle, care, and daunger, that you haue willinglie vndergone for the good and aduauncement of our weale publique. The praiſe-worthines therof doth approoue it ſelfe, & is better read in your liuing doinges, then in my dead vnregarded papers. All that I can wiſh, is that my life were a ſufficient pledge, to iuſtifie, how much more eaſie, and more material, the courſe for the *Guiana* wold be thẽ others: which requiring greater charge, yeeld not ſo large benefit, and are ſubiect to more

Pericles.

more doubtful euents. If vnto their wiſdoms, who ſit in place and authoritie, it ſhal appeare otherwiſe, and that in following of other attempts there is leſſe difficultie, certainer profit, & needfuller offence vnto the enemie: the coſt and trauaile, which you haue beſtowed, ſhall not, I hope, bee altogether loſt: if vnto your Honour, I can well prooue, how, and where the amendes is to be had, maugre the force and preuention of all Spaniardes.

*Your Lordſhips to be commanded*
in all ſeruice:

Law: Kemys.

IN thinges earneſtly deſired, though neuer ſo likelie, we are ſtill ſuſpicious: thinking it more credite to our common wiſdome, to diſcredit moſt noble and profitable indeuours with diſtruſt; then touch to our valures and ſafeties to lie wilfullie idle. So that howſoeuer an action well and iudiciallie attempted, be eſteemed halfe performed: yet, is this my iealous conceipt concerning the *Guiana*, that nothing is begun, before all be ended. In this regarde (gentle Reader) I haue preſumed to burthen thine eares, with the weake plea of a good cauſe, and in ſteede of opening it throughlie, to thy prudent conſideration, to note onlie mine own vnſatisfied affection: hoping that becauſe I do name the *Guiana* vnto thee, thou wilt vouchſafe, *hoc nomine*, to vaile and couer all other my defectes in the deſerte of a good meaning. In publiſhing this treatiſe, my labour principallie tendeth to this end: to remooue all fig-leaues from our vnbeleefe; that either it may haue cauſe to ſhake off the colourable pretences of ignorance: or, if we will not be perſwaded; that our ſelfe-wil may reſt inexcuſable. They that ſhall applie, and conſtrue this my doing, to ſerue the Spaniard his turne ſo well as our owne; in ſo much as it may ſeeme to inſtruct, warne, and arme him: for their ſatisfaction heerein, they muſt not be ignorant, that his eyes in ſeeing our ſhipping there, doe as effectuallie informe him, that manie of our heartes are toward that place: as if it ſhould bee crediblie aduertiſed, by ſome corrupt hireling, that we thinke, write and diſcourſe of nothing els. Neither can I imagine, that to conceale our knowledge herein (which to conceale may perhaps prooue, and bee hereafter taken for worſe then paricide) would be of better purpoſe, then to hoodwincke our ſelues, as who would ſay, no man ſhall ſee vs. Beſides:

if

if the action were whollie to bee effected at her Maiesties charge: then might it at her Highneesse pleasure, be shadowed with some other drift, and neuer bee discouered, vntill it were acted: But since it craueth the approbation and purses of manie Aduenturers: who cannot be so prodigall, both of their possessions and liues as voluntarily to run themselues out of breath, in pursuing they kuowe not what: great reason it is, that where assistance is to be asked, due causes bee yeelded, to perswade & induce them vnto it. The Spaniard is not so simple, vnsetled, and vncertaine in his determinations; as to build them on our breath, or to make our papers his Bulwarkes; nor so slowe, as to expect a president of our forwardnesse. His proceedings are sufficientlie strengthened with the trauailes, reportes, and substanciall proofs of his own men, that haue aboue 60. yeares beaten round about this bush. And, to say a truth, the expedition that he hath vsed, in sending so manie ships in Februarie last, to people this countrey, and disappoint vs: as it doth consequentlie shew, that he findeth his chiefest force and sinewes to consist in golde: so doth he thereby plainly to our faces exprobate our remissnesse and long deliberations, that in twelue monethes space haue done, or sought to doe nothing woorthie the ancient fame, and reputation of our English nation, interressed in so waightie businesse

*His late prouision of a new supplie of whole familes to the number of sixe hundred persons, bound for *Guiana*, but that it pleased God, that by meanes of that right honourable seruice, most resolutelie performed in the sea-fight, and sacking of *Cades*, the ships, wherein they should haue beene conueyed, were conuerted into ashes: what might it signifie? Certes, as it doth euidentlie prooue, that *el Dorado* hath vndoubted credite, and account in their iudgements: so pointeth it at vs, whilest we onlie to entertaine idle time, sit listening for *Guiana* newes, and instantlie forget it, as if it were nought els, but a pleasing dreame of a golden fancie. In lune last

If we with our ſelues ſhall expoſtulate, how this commeth to paſſe that the aduantage wholie reſting on our ſide, in reſpect that *Berree* was this laſt yeare beaten out, the country throughlie diſcouered, and the Inhabitantes made deſirous of her ſacred Maieſties happie gouernment; they notwithſtanding by entring before vs: haue nowe gotten the ſtart of vs: what may we thinke? ſhall wee iudge that their natiue country is leſſe deare, or more wearieſome vnto them, then ours is vnto vs? Their *Peruleri* who going bare and emptie out of *Spaine*, do againe within three or foure years returne from *Peru*, rich and in good eſtate, do apparantlie diſproone all ſuch conceipts of them. Shall we ſay that they haue more ſpare men to be imployed in ſuch actions? It is no ſecrete to know the contrarie. Are they ſubiect to penurie? In all partes of Chriſtendome, where money is not ſcant, all other things are plentifull. Or is their land not able to ſuſtain their numbers of people? They buy many ſlaues to follow their husbandrie, and themſelues diſdaining baſe idleneſſe, and beggerie, do all honour militarie profeſsion, highlie eſteeming it, in their mercenaries and ſtrangers. Is it then want of abilitie, in thoſe that are willing? lacke of incouragement. Or default of ſpeedie order and direction for thoſe that doe voluntarile offer themſelues, their ſubſtance, and beſt indeuour to further this cauſe; that maketh vs to be thus coated by the Spaniard? The firſt is no queſtion. The latter needeth no anſwere. The profit then by their example to be gathered, is, not to looſe opportunitie by delay, or to ſeeme fearfull and diſmayed, where there is no cauſe of doubt. For as yet their poſt haſt doth no way preiudice our aduiſed leyſure in ſetting forward, ſince their preparations of *Negroes* to worke in the mynes, their horſes, cattel, and other neceſſaries, may, (by the fauour of God) at our firſt comming, both ſtore vs with quantities of gold oare, and eaſe vs of much trouble, paines, and trauaile. If we ſhould ſuppoſe our ſelues now to liue in the dayes of

King

*Henrie* the ſeuenth of famous memorie, and the ſtrange report of a Weſt *Indies*, or new world abounding with great treaſure ſhould entice vs to beleeue it: perhaps it might be imputed for ſome blame to the grauitie of wiſe men, lightly to be carried with the perſwaſion and hope of a new found *Vtopia*, by ſuch a one as *Columbus* was, being an alien, and manie wayes ſubiect to ſuſpition. But ſince the penance of that incredulity lyeth euen now heauie on our ſhoulders; the example forethreatning, I know not what: repentance: and that we haue the perſonall triall of ſo honorable and ſufficient a Reporter, our owne Countriman: let it bee farre from vs to coudemne our ſelues in that, which ſo worthilie we reprooue in our predeceſſors; and to let our idle knowledge content it ſelfe with naked contemplation. like a barren womb in a Monaſterie. We cannot denie that the chiefe commendation of vertue doth conſiſt in action: we truly ſay that *Otium* is *anima viue ſepultura*: we beleeue, that perfect wiſdome in this mobility of al humain affaires, refuſeth not with anie price to purchaſe ſafetie: and wee iuſtlie doe acknowledge that the Caſtilians from barelegged mounteyners haue attained to their greatneſſe, by labour and induſtrie: To ſleep then, becauſe it coſteth nothing, to imbrace the preſent time, becauſe it flattereth vs with deceitfull contentment, & to kiſſe ſecuritie, ſaying what euill happeneth vnto vs? is the plaine high-way to a fearfull downefall: from which the Lord in his mercie deliuer vs, and giue vs an vnderſtanding heart, in time to ſee, and to ſeeke that, which belongeth vnto our peace,

# De Guiana, carmen Epicum.

VVHat Worke of honour and eternall name,
For all the worlde t'envie, and vs t'atchieue,
Filles me with furie, and giues armed handes
To my heartes peace, that els would gladlie turne
My limmes and euery sence into my thoughtes
Rapt with the thirsted action of my mind?
O Clio, Honors Muse, sing in my voyce,
Tell the attempt, and prophecie th'exploit
Of his Eliza-consecrated sworde,
That in this peacefull charme of Englands sleepe,
Opens most tenderlie her aged throte,
Offring to poure fresh youth through all her vaines,
That flesh of brasse, and ribs of steele retaines.

Riches, and Conqueſt, and Renowme I sing,
Riches with honour, Conqueſt without bloud,
Enough to seat the Monarchie of earth,
Like to Ioues Eagle, on Elizas hand.
Guiana, whose rich feet are mines of golde,
Whose forehead knockes against the roofe of Starres,
Stands on her tip-toes at faire England looking,
Kissing her hand, bowing her mightie breast,
And euery signe of all submission making,
To be her sister, and the daughter both
Of our most sacred Maide: Whose barrennesse
Is the true fruite of vertue, that may get,
Beare and bring foorth anew in all perfection,
What heretofore sauage corruption held
In barbarous Chaos; and in this affaire
Become her father, mother, and her heire.

Then most admired Soueraigne, let your breath
Goe foorth vpon the waters, and create

*A golden worlde in this our yron age,*
*And be the prosperous forewind to a Fleet,*
*That seconding your last, may goe before it*
*In all successe of profite and renowme:*
*Doubt not but your election was diuine,*
*(Aswell by* Fate *as your high iudgement ordred)*
*To raise him with choise Bounties, that could adde*
*Height to his height; and like a liberall vine,*
*Not onelie beare his vertuous fruit aloft,*
*Free from the Presse of squint-eyd* Enuies *feet,*
*But decke his gracious Proppe with golden bunches,*
*And shroude it with broad leaues of* Rule *oregrowne*
*From all blacke tempestes of inuasion.*

*Those Conquests that like generall earthquakes shooke*
*The solid world, and made it fall before them,*
*Built all their braue attemptes on weaker groundes,*
*And lesse persuasiue likelihoods then this;*
*Nor was there euer princelie Fount so long*
*Powr'd foorth a sea of Rule with so free course,*
*And such ascending* Maiestie *as you:*
*Then be not like a rough and violent wind,*
*That in the morning rends the Forrestes downe,*
*Shoues vp the seas to heauen, makes earth to tremble,*
*And toombes his wastfull brauerie in the Euen:*
*But as a riuer from a mountaine running,*
*The further he extends, the greater growes,*
*And by his thriftie race strengthens his streame,*
*Euen to ioyne battale with th'imperious sea*
*Disdaining his repulse, and in despight*
*Of his proud furie, mixeth with his maine,*
*Taking on him his titles and commandes:*
*So let thy soueraigne Empire be encreast,*
*And with,* Iberian Neptune *part the stake,*
*Whose* Trident *he the triple worlde would make.*

*You then that would be wise in Wisdomes spight,*
*Directing with discredite of direction,*
*And hunt for honour, hunting him to death.*
*With whome before you will inherite gold,*
*You will loose golde, for which you loose your soules;*
*You that choose nought for right, but certaintie,*
*And feare that value will get onlie blowes,*
*Placing your faith in* Incredulitie,
*Sit till you see a woonder,* Vertue *rich:*
*Till* Honour *hauing golde, rob golde of honour,*
*Till as men hate desert that getteth nought,*
*They loath all getting that deserues not ought;*
*And vse you gold-made men, as dregges of men;*
*And till your poysoned soules, like Spiders lurking*
*In sluttish chinckes, in mystes of Cobwebs hide*
*Your foggie bodies, and your dunghill pride.*

O Incredulitie, *the wit of Fooles,*
*That slouenlie will spit on all thinges faire,*
*The* Cowards castle, *and the* Sluggards cradle
*How easie t'is to be an Infidell?*

*But you* Patrician *Spirites that refine*
*Your flesh to fire, and issue like a flame*
*On braue indeuours, knowing that in them*
*The tract of heauen in morne-like glorie opens,*
*That know you cannot be the Kinges of earth,*
*(Claiming the Rightes of your creation)*
*And let the Mynes of earth be Kinges of you;*
*That are so farre from doubting likelie driftes,*
*That in things hardest y'are most confident.*
*You that know death liues, where power liues vnusde,*
*Ioying to shine in vvaues that burie you,*
*And so make vvay for life euen through your graues;*
*That vvillnot be content like horse to hold*

*A thread-bare beaten vvaie to home affaires:*
*But where the ſea in enuie of your raigne,*
*Cloſeth her vvombe, as faſt as tis diſcloſde,*
*That ſhe like* Auarice *might ſwallowe all,*
*And let none find right paſſage through her rage:*
*There your wiſe ſoules as ſwift as* Eurus *lead*
*Your Bodies through, to profit and renowne,*
*And skorne to let your bodies chooke your ſoules,*
*In the rude breath and priſoned life of beaſtes:*
*You that heerein renounce the courſe of earth,*
*And lift your eies for guidance to the ſtarres,*
*That liue not for your ſelues, but to poſſeſſe*
*Your honour'd countrey of a generall ſtore;*
*In pitie of the ſpoyle rude ſelfe-loue makes,*
*Of them vvhoſe liues and yours one aire doth feede,*
*One ſoile doeth nouriſh, and one ſtrength combine;*
*You that are bleſt vvith ſence of all things noble*
*In this attempt your compleat vvoorthes redoubie.*

*But how is* Nature *at her heart corrupted,*
*(I meane euen in her moſt ennobled birth?)*
*How in exceſſe of Sence is Sence bereft her?*
*That her moſt lightening-like effectes of luſt*
*Wound through her fleſh, her ſoule, her fleſh vnwounded;*
*And ſhe muſt neede incitements to her good,*
*Euen from that part ſhe hurtes. O how moſt like*
*Art thou (heroike Author of this Act)*
*To this wrong'd ſoule of* Nature: *that ſuſtainſt*
*Paine, charge, and perill for thy countreys good,*
*And ſhe much like a bodie numb'd vvith ſurfets,*
*Feeles not thy gentle applications*
*For the health, vſe, & honor of her powers.*
*Yet ſhall my verſe through all her eaſe-lockt eares*
*Trumpet the Nobleſſe of thy high intent,*
*And if it cannot into act proceed,*

*The fault and bitter pennance of the fault*
*Make red ſome others eyes with penitence,*
*For thine are cleare; and what more nimble ſpirites*
*Apter to byte at ſuch vnhooked baytes,*
*Gaine by our loſſe; that muſt we needs confeſſe*
*Thy princelie valure would haue purchaſt vs.*
*Which ſhall be fame eternall to thy name,*
*Though thy contentment in thy graue deſires,*
*Of our aduancement, faile deſeru'd effect,*
*O how I feare thy glorie which I loue,*
*Leaſt it ſhould dearelie growe by our decreaſe.*
*Natures that ſtick in golden-graueld ſprings,*
*In mucke-pits cannot ſcape their ſwallowings.*

*But we ſhall foorth I know; Golde is our Fate,*
*Which all our actes doeth faſhion and create.*

*Then in the* Theſpiads *bright Propheticke Fount,*
*Me thinkes I ſee our Liege riſe from her throne,*
*Her eares and thoughtes in ſteepe amaze erected,*
*At the moſt rare endeuour of her power,*
*And now ſhe bleſſeth with her woonted Graces*
*Th'induſtrious Knight, the ſoule of this exploit,*
*Diſmiſſing him to conuoy of his ſtarres.*
*And now for loue and honour of his woorth,*
*Our twiſe-borne Nobles bring him Bridegroome-like,*
*That is eſpouſde for vertue to his loue*
*With feaſtes and muſicke, raviſhing the aire,*
*To his* Argolian *Fleet, where round about*
*His bating Colours Engliſh valure ſwarmes*
*In haſte, as if* Guianian Orenoque
*With his Fell waters fell vpon our ſhore.*
*And now a Wind as forward as their ſpirits,*
*Sets their glad feet on ſmooth* Guianas *breaſt,*
*Where (as if ech man were an* Orpheus)

*A world of Sauadges fall tame before them,*
*Storing their theft-free treasuries with golde,*
*And there doth plentie crowne their wealthie fieldes,*
There Learning *eates no more his thriftlesse books,*
*Nor* Valure *Estridge-like his yron armes.*
There Beautie *is no strumpet for her wantes,*
*Nor* Gallique *humours putrifie her blood:*
*But all our Youth take* Hymens *lightes in hand,*
*And fill each roofe with honor'd progenie.*
There *makes* Societie *Adamantine chaines,*
*And ioins their harts with wealth, whõ wealth disioyn'd.*
There *healthfull Recreations strowe their meades,*
*And make their mansions daunce with neighborhood,*
That *here were drown'd in churlish* Auarice.
*And there do Pallaces and temples rise*
*Out of the earth, and kisse th'enamored skies,*
*Where new* Britania, *humblie kneeles to heauen,*
The world *to her, and both at her blest feete,*
*In whom the Circles of all Empire meet.*

## Ad *Thomam Hariotum* Matheſeos, & vniuerſæ Philoſophiæ peritiſsimum, de *Guiana* Carmen. Dat. Anno. 1595.

*MOntibus eſt Regio, quaſi muris, obſita, multis:*
*Circumſæpit aquis quos Raleana ſuis.*
*Intus habet largos Guaiana beata receſſus:*
*hoſtili geſtans libera colla iugo.*
*Hiſpanus cluuis illis ſudauit, & alſit*
*ſeptem annos, nouies: nec tamen inualuit.*
*(Numen, & omen ineſt numeris. Fatale ſit illi:*
*Et nobis virtus ſit recidiua, precor)*
*Gualtere, patefacta via eſt duce & auſpice Ralegh*
*Menſe vno: ô factum hoc nomine quo celebrem?*
*Noctè dieq́, datis velis, remiſq́ laborans,*
*Exegit ſummæ dexteritatis opus.*
*Scilicet expenſis magnis non ille pepercit,*
*Communi natus conſuluiſſe bono.*
*Prouidus excubuit ſimili diſcrimine Ioſeph:*
*Sic fratres, fratrem deſeruêre ſuum:*
*Fama coloratam deſignet ſi bona, veſtem:*
*Veſtis ſciſſa malis ſic fuit illa modis.*
*Mira leges. Aureſque animumque tuum arrige. Tellus*
*Hæc aurum, & gemmas graminis inſtar, habet.*
*Ver ibi perpetuum eſt: ibi prodiga terra quotannis*
*Luxuriat, ſola fertilitate nocens.*
*Anglia noſtra licet dines ſit, & vndique fœlix:*
*Anglia, ſi confers, indiga frugis erit.*
*Expertes capitum, volucres, piſceſq́ feraſq́*
*Prætereo: haud proſunt, quæ nouitate, placent.*
*Eſt ibi, vel nuſquam, quod quærimus. Ergo petamus:*
*Det Deus, hanc Canaan poſſideamus. Amen.*

Tui Amantiſs. L. K.

# *The ſecond Voyage* to Guiana.

MVnday, the 26. of Ianuary, in the year of our Lord 1595. we departed from *Portland* road, in the *Darling* of *London*, hauing in company the Diſcouerer, a ſmal Pynnace, whome wee loſt at ſea, in foule weather, the Thurſday night next following. Fryday, the 13. of Februarie, we fell with the *Canarie* Ilands, where we expected our pynnace, according to our appointment, ſeuen or eight dayes. Here we tooke two boats, the one a paſſenger, we bulged, the other wee towed at our ſhip ſterne, ſteering ſouth ſouth weſt for the Ilandes of *Gap. de Verd.* Therehence we ſet ſaile the 28. of Februarie, keeping a weſt ſouth weſt courſe. In this paſſage we found verie ſmooth ſeas, faire weather, & ſteddie winds, blowing ordinarilie between the Eaſt, and North eaſt pointes. Neere 300. leagues from theſe Ilands, we came into a growne ſea, the ſwollen waters making a ſtrange noiſe and hurtling together, as if it might be two ſtrong currentes encountring each other. The 12. of March we ſounded, and had ſandie ground in 47. fadam. At midnight in twelue fadam we came to an ancor, the ground ſandie oaſe, Sunday the 14. towardes night, about ſome ſixe

leagues from the ſhoar, we deſcried a low land in the bottom of a bay. From the 9 of March vntill this time, wee kept for the moſt part a ſouth ſouth weſt courſe. The water in this place is ſmooth, but muddie, and the collour red or Tawny. From the weſtermoſt of the *Cap. de Verd.* Ilands vnto this bay I do eſtimat the diſtance to be neer 550. leagues. It ſemed to moſt of our ſea-men, to be the verie banke of a ſhoald vpon a leigh ſhoare: the rather becauſe without it, in the cleane greene ſea we had but 7. fadam depth: but after by proofe finding that there is no ſudden alteration in anie part of the coaſt, and that the ſea is ſmootheſt nere the land, we alwaies at night ſought to ancor in three or four fadam. And doubtleſſe as the hand of God is woonderfull in all his workes: ſo heerin his mercifull prouidence is moſt admirable, that vpon a leigh ſhore, ſubiect to a perpetuall eaſterlie gale, neither much wind can endanger ſhipping, by reaſon that the foule heauie water is not capable of vehement motion, and the ſofte light oaſe, if they touch, cannot bruiſe them: nor is there anie ieopardie in being wind-bound, or imbayed: for the moſt forcible windes make the greateſt floud-tydes, whereby the freſhets, when they take their ordinarie courſe of ebbe, doe grow ſtrong and ſwift, ſetting directlie off to ſea againſt the wind. We by turning went cleare of all bayes: howbeit in this caſe, as alſo in the riuers, the vſe of a droue ſayle ſeemeth a good aud readie help. The firſt place wherin we ancored, was in the mouth of *Arrowari*, a faire & great riuer. It ſtandeth in one degree and fourtie minutes: for we fell ſo farre to the ſouthwards by your Lordſhips direction. The bar without hath at the leaſt three fadam, at the ſholdeſt place, when it is low ebb. The depth within is eight and ten fadam. The water alwayes brackiſh. We found not anie inhabitantes in this place neere the ſea coaſt. I omit here to recite the names of the nations that are borderers, their townes, Captaines and commodities that their countries doe yeelde, as alſo the ſoundinges, tydes, and how the

coaſt

coast lyeth &c. thinking it fitteſt to reduce theſe diſioyned and ſcattered remembrances to one place. As we paſſed we alwaies kept the ſhoare within view and ſtopped the flouds, ſtill ancoring at night in three or foure fadam. When wee came to the north-hed lād of this bay (which we named *Cape Cecyll*) we ſawe two high mountaines like two Ilandes, but they ioyne with the mayne. In this tract lying north north-weſt, neere 60. leagues, there fall into the ſea, theſe ſeuerall great riuers *Arrowari*, *Iwaripoco*, *Maipari*, *Coanawini*, *Caipurogh*. We ancored in two fadam not far from theſe hilles, and filled all our caske with freſh water by the ſhip ſide, for in the ſea 30. miles from the mouth of anie riuer it is freſh and good. This ſecond bay extendeth it ſelfe aboue 30 leagues to the weſtward, & containeth within it theſe riuers *Arcooa*, *Wiapoco*, *Wanari*, *Caparwacka*, *Cawo*, *Caiane*, *wia*, *Macuria*, *Cawroor Curaſſawini*. Here leauing the ſhip at ancor, I tooke into the boat *Iohn Prouoſt*, my *Indian* Interpreter, *Iohn Lynſey*, and 8. or nine others, intending to ſearch ſome of theſe riuers, and to ſeeke ſpeech with the *Indians*. In *Wiapoco*, at the foot of the Eaſtermoſt mountaine, where the riuer falleth into the ſea, we found twentie or thirtie houſes, but not inhabited. Wee ſtayed there but one night. *Wanari* we ouerpaſſed, becauſe the entrance is rockie and not deep. *In Capperwacka* we ſailed ſome fourtie miles but could ſee no *Indian*. At one of their portes vnder the ſide of a hill, we took in ſo much Braſill wood as our boat could carie. Amongſt other trees wee cut downe one for an example, which I doe verilie beleeue to bee the ſame ſorte of Sinamon, which is fonnde in the ſtreightes of *Magellane*. From *Capurwacka* wee paſſed to *Cawo*, and there met with a *Canoa*, wherein were two *Indians*. It was long time before we could procure them to come neere vs, for they doubted leaſt we were Spaniſh. When my interpreter had perſwaded them the contrarie, and that wee came from *England*, they without farther ſpeech or delay, brought vs to *Wareo* their Captaine, who entertained vs

moſt frendly: and then at large declared vnto vs, that he was latelie chaſed by the *Spaniard* from *Moruga*, one of the neighbour riuers to *Raleana*, or *Orenoque*: and that hauing burnt his owne houſes, and deſtroyed his fruites and gardens, he had left his countrey and townes to be poſſeſſed by the *Arwaccas*; who are a vagabound nation of *Indians*, which finding no certaine place of abode of their owne, do for the moſt part ſerue and follow the *Spaniardes*. He ſhewed mee that he was of the nation of the *Iaos*, who are a mightie people, and of late time were Lordes of all the ſea coaſt ſo farre as *Trinidado*, which they likewiſe poſſeſſed. Howbeit, that with a generall conſent, when the *Spaniardes* firſt began to borrow ſome of their wiues: they all agreed to change their habitation, & doe now liue vnited for the moſt part towards the riuer of *Amazones*. But the eſpeciall cauſe of his preſent remooue was, becauſe two or three yeares paſt, twenty *Spaniardes* came to his towne, and ſought to take his beſt wife from him: but before they caried her away, hee at time and place of aduantage killed halfe of them: the reſt fled, moſt of them ſore hurt. Now in this caſe he thought it beſt to dwel far ynough from them. Your *Indian* Pilot *Ferdinando*, who conducted you by *Amana*, and now abideth neere the head of *Deſſekeebe*, is one of this mans ſubiects: By whom (as it may ſeeme) hee hath taken good notice of our Princeſſe and country. For he deſcended more particularlie to inquire what forces were come with vs; aſſuring me of the *Spaniards* being in *Trinidado*, and that the *Indians* our friends betwixt hope and feare, haue earneſtlie expected our return from *England* theſe foure or fiue moneths. When I had anſwered him, that at our departure we left no *Spaniards* aliue to annoy them; that we now came onlie to diſcouer, & trade with them; and that if her Maieſtie ſhould haue ſent a power of men, where no enemie was to reſiſt, the *Indians* might perhaps imagine, that we came rather to inuade, then to defend them. He replyed, that this courſe very well ſorted with the

report, which they had hard of our Princesse Iustice, rare graces, and vertues: the fame of whose power in being able to vanquish the *Spaniards*, and singular goodnesse in vndertaking to succour and defend the afflicted *Indians*, was now so generall, that the nations farre and neere were all agreed to ioyne with vs, and by all meanes possible to assist vs in expelling and rooting out the *Spaniards* from all partes of the land: and that we were deceiued, if we thought this country not large ynough to receiue vs, without molestation or intrusion vpon the *Indians*, who wanted not choise of dwelling places, if they forsooke one to liue in another: but stood in neede of our presence at all times to aide them, and maintaine their libertie, which to them is dearer then land or liuing. He then farther desired, that hee with his people might haue our fauour against the *Arwaccas*, who not being content to enioy their groundes and houses, had taken from them manie of their wiues and children, the best of whose fortune was, if they liued, to liue in perpetuall slauerie vnder the *Spaniardes*. Wee put him in good hope and comfort thereof. And he to deserue some part of this friendship, commended vnto vs an elderlie man to bee our Pilot in bringing vs to *Raleana*. When we were readie to depart, he demanded whether we wanted any *Vrapo*, which is the wood, that is vsually carried from these partes to *Trinidado* in *Canoas*, and is there solde to the *French* for trade: he offered, if we would bring our ship neer his Port, to put in her lading thereof. But because most of our caske was not yron bound, and in making stoage way to remooue it, would haue bene the losse of our Syder and other drinke; I therefore referred the taking of any quantity to fitter opportunitie; thinking it sufficient at this time, to haue only my boates lading therof; which afterwardes in extremity of foule weather, before we could get aboord our shippe, wee were inforced in a dark nigh to heaue al ouerbord: thinking our selues happy, to haue recouered thither at seuen dayes

Brasil wood

end, with ſafety of lyfe onlie. All which time wee could no where ſet foot on ſhore, but reſted day and night wet & weatherbeaten in our couertles boat, which was ſometimes readie to ſinke vnder vs. For we had in this place without compariſon more raine, wind, and guſtes, then els where at anie time. To be breefe, my men became weake and ſicke, and if we had ſtayed anie longer time out, I doubt whether the greateſt part of vs had euer come abord again. I afterwards vnderſtood by my *Indian* Pilot, that this weather is for moſt part of the yeare vſuall, neere the Iland *Oncaiarie*, which lyeth North from the riuer *Capurwacka* ſome ſixe leagues into the ſea: and that they hold opinion, this Iland to be kept by ſome euill ſpirit: for they verily beleeue, that to ſleepe in the day time neere it (except it be after much drinke) is preſent death. The onely ſeaſon wherein little raine doth fall there, is (as I gathered by their ſpeach, they diuiding all times by their moones) at our winter Solſtice. The mother winde of this coaſt is for the moſt part to the Northwarde of the Eaſt, except when the Sunne is on this ſide of the Equinoctiall, for then it often veares Southerly, but moſt in the night. This our guide is of the *Iaoi*, who doe all marke themſelues, thereby to be knowne from other nations after this maner. With the tooth of a ſmall beaſt like a Rat, they race ſome their faces, ſome their bodies, after diuers formes, as if it were with the ſcratch of a pin, the print of which raſure, can neuer be done away againe during lyfe. When he had ſome time conuerſed with our *Indians*, that went from *England* with vs, he became willing of himſelfe to ſee our country. His ſufficiency, truſtines, & knowledge is ſuch, that if the pretẽded voyage for the *Guiana* do take place, you ſhall (I doubt not) find him many wayes able to ſteed your Lordſh. in your deſignes & purpoſes. For beſides his preciſe knowledge of all the coaſt, of the *Indian* townes and dwellings, he ſpeaketh all their languages, was bred in *Guiana*, is a ſworne brother to *Putima*, who ſlew the *Spaniardes*

*ards* in their returne from *Manoa*, can direct vs to many Golde mines, and in nothing will vndertake more, then he assuredlie will performe.

To the Westward this bay hath many good roades vnder small Ilandes, whereof the greatest, named *Gowateri*, is inhabited by the *Shebaios*: and besides the plentie of foule, fish, fruites, wilde Porkes and Deere, which are there to bee had: where *Caiane* falles into the sea, (for it standeth in the mouthes of *Wia* and *Caiane*) it yeeldes safe and good harbour in foure and fiue fadam for ships of great burthen. On all that coast we found not any like it: we therfore honoured this place by the name of *Port Howard*. The road vnder *Triangle* Ilands, which are the Westermost from the rest and stand in 5. degrees, which haue also store of fish, foule, Deere, and *Iwanas* is good, but not comparable with this other, where in all windes and weather, shippes, though they be manie, may all ride securelie. The hils and high lands are limits to this bay on each side: for to the Eastward beyond it appeare none at all, and to the Westward of Mount *Hobbeigh* very few. Where the mountaines faile, there Brasill wood is no farther to be sought for: but in all partes cotten, pepper, silke, and *Balsamum* trees do grow in aboundance. The rootes of the herbe *Wiapassa* are here most plentifull: I find them in taste nothing different from good Ginger, & in operation verie medicinable against the flixe and headach. These riuers, as also others neerer *Raleana*, do al fal out of the plaines of the Empire ouer rockes, as the riuer *Caroli* doeth into *Raleana*: and in most places within the vtmost hedge of woods, the land within is plaine, voyd of trees, and beareth short grasse like *Arromaiaries* country.

Next adioyning vnto these, are the riuers *Cunanamma*, *Uracco*, *Mawari*, *Mawarparo*, *Amonna*, *Marawini*, *Oncowi*, *Wiawiami*, *Aramatappo*, *Camaiwini*, *Shurinama*, *Shurama*, *Cupanamma*, *Inana*, *Curitini*, *Winitwari*, *Berbice*, *Wapari*, *Maicaiwini*, *Mahawaica*, *Wappari*, *Lemerare*, *Dessekebe*, *Caopui*,

*Pawrooma*

*Pawrooma*, *Moruga*, *Waini*, *Barima*, *Amacur*, *Aratoori*, *Raleana*. From *Cape Cecyll* to *Raleana*, the coast trendeth 200. leagues next hande West north west. In this variety of goodly riuers, *Amonna* amongst the rest poureth himselfe into the sea in a large and deepe channel: his swiftnes suffereth no barre, nor refuseth any shipping of what burthen soeuer they be: within his mouth for good and hopefull respectes is port *Burley* placed. The inhabitants that dwell Eastward, doe neuer passe lower then *Berbice* to trade. Aboue *Curitini* in the woods they gather great quantities of honey. Farther to the Eastward then *Dessekebe*, no *Spaniard* euer trauelled. In which respect, and that no sea-card that I haue seene at anie time, doth in any sort neere a truth, describe this coast: I thought the libertie of imposing English names to certaine places of note, of right to belong vnto our labours; the rather because occasion thereby offereth it selfe, gratefullie to acknowledge the honor due vnto them that haue bene, and I hope will still continue, fauourers of this enterprize. The *Indians* to shew the worthines of *Dessekeebe* (for it is verie large and full of Ilands in the mouth) do call it the brother of *Orenoque*. It lyeth Southerly into the land, and from the mouth of it vnto the head, they passe in twentie dayes: then taking their prouision they carie it on their shoulders one dayes iourney: afterwards they returne for their Canoas, and beare them likwise to the side of a lake, which the *Iaos* call *RoponoWini*, the *Charibes*, *Parime*: which is of such bignesse, that they know no difference between it and the maine sea. There be infinite numbers of Canoas in this lake, and (as I suppose) it is no other then that, whereon *Manoa* standeth: In this riuer, which wee now call *Deuoritia*, the *Spaniards* doe intend to build them a towne. *In Moruga* it was, that they hunted *Wareo* and his people, * about halfe a yeere since. *Arromaiarie*, who wan so great credit by ouerthrowing the *Tiuitiuas* of *Amana*, and making free the passage of that riuer, but now againe liueth

In September.

liueth in disgrace, by reason that the *Charibes* of *Guanipa*, haue killed most of his followers, and burnt his townes, was present with them, and tooke away manie of the women of that place. *Arracurri*, another *Indian* of the nation of the *Arwaccas* inhabiting in *Barima*, was likewise present, and conducted the *Spaniards* to all the *Indian* dwellings. They were not of *Anthonie de Berreo* his companie, that followed this chase, but were the *Spaniardes* of *Marguerita*, and the *Caraccas*, with whom * *Santiago*, forsaking his gouernor *Berreo*, ioyned himselfe. For which fact he now lyeth in fetters at *Trinidado*, euery day expecting sentence of death. The occasion hereof grew as followeth.

This Spaniard vnderstandeth the Guiana language, and is reputed a very sufficient man.

When *Berreo*, hauing lost his men, was left with *Fasshardo* at *Cumanaw* all alone, as forlorne, and neuer likely to compasse his intended conqueste of *Guiana*: the Gouernours of the *Caraccas* and *Marguerita* consulting together, sent with all speed into *Spaine*, to aduertise their king, that *Berreo* was vtterly vnable to follow this enterprise, that he had giuen it ouer, and did now soiorne in his olde dayes at *Fasshardo* his house, minding nothing els but his solace, and recreation. they farther declared, of how great importance this matter was: and that an *English* Gentleman of such reckoning, as they named your Lordship to be, hauing bene in the *Guiana*, and vnderstanding so much of the state thereof, and the nations thereunto adioyning, as *Topiawari*, being both olde and wise, could informe you of, who also in confirmation of friendship, had giuen you his only sonne, to whome the inheritance of the countrey did belong after him: there was no other likelihood, but that you, who aduentured so farre, and in such sort as you did, only to see, and know a certenty, would leaue nothing vnattempted to possesse so rich a countrie, and without all doubt would returne presentlie. That meane time, you had left this aged Sire aliue, to bee a blocke in their way, to whome after his decease, this enterprise by patent did belong, and to be a weake aduersarie a-



gainst

gainſt your ſelf, whom at all times, you knew eaſilie how to diſtreſſe: and that therefore it might bee behouefull for his maieſtie to reuoke *Berreo* his graunt, and to vſe their ſeruice, who were readie and willing without anie delay to vndertake the charge. Theſe newes being at large amplified, and deliuered to the king: *Domingo de Vera*, *Bereo* his Camp. maſter, who was ſent into *Spaine*, fiue monethes before your arriual to *Trinidado*, with a ſufficient quantitie of golde, gotten out of *Guiana*, to leuie and furniſh 500. men, hauing gotten knowledge of this practiſe, ſo ſollicited this cauſe in *Bereo* his behalfe, that preſent order was giuen for the victualing and manning of ten ſhips to bee ſent to *Bereo*: and farther, this golde bore ſuch waight, that the king commanded other 18. of his ſhips to ſtop at *Trinidado*, and not to follow their other directions, before they ſaw that place ſecured from enemies.

*Berreo* ſuppoſing that theſe Gouernours in ſending with ſuch ſpeed into *Spaine*, meant him no good: to approoue his care and conſtancie, & that he neuer would yeeld vnder the burthen of his aduerſe fortune; giuing no time or breath to his aduerſaries, nor himſelf; returned forthwith to *Carapana* his port, onlie with fifteene men, being the ſcattered remnant of thoſe, whō you lately diſpoſſeſſed of *Trinidado*. Theſe Gouernours followed him, and aſſuring themſelues of preſent imployment from their king, preoccupating the time of their directions to be returned from *Spaine*, entered the *Guiana* with their men, with full determination to murther *Bereo*, and to diſpatch all his companie. They indeed killed two or three, but *Bereo* fled towards *Caroli*, where he ſtayed hoping for ſuccour from his ſonne *Anthonie de Cemenes*, to come downe the riuer from *Nueuo Reyno de Granado*. The *Margueritanes* with their accomplices buſied themſelues, ſome in ſearching the countrie, others in purueying of victuals out of the riuers that doe lie Eaſtward, of which number theſe were, that entered into *Moruga* with 20. *Canoas*.

*Santiago*

*Santiago* paſſed vp into *Topiawaries* countrie, and there tooke *Francis Sparrowes* Sir *George Gifford* his man priſoner, who with plentie of golde ranſomed his life, and is now abiding in *Cumanaw*. This done, they all returned to *Trinidado*, and began to build their towne there, when vnhappilie to their ſmall comfort the 28. ſayles arriued, and tooke *Santiago* priſoner. The other Actors in this Enterlude vaniſhed, and in *Canoas* recouered *Marguerita* and *Cumanaw* againe. Eighteen of the ſaid ſhips leauing all thinges in good order, departed from *Trinidado* to follow their other directions: ten doe yet remaine fortifying at *Conquerabia*, and expecting our comming.

This particular relation I had from an *Indian*, ſeruant to *Berreo*, that could ſpeake Spaniſh, whom I tooke in the riuer. He is of the nation of the *Iaos*, and from a child bred vp with *Berreo*. I gaue him trade to buy him a *Canoa* to returne into his countrie, and ſo left him glad, that hee had met with vs.

Now the *Indians* of *Moruga* being chaſed from their dwellings, do ſeeke by all means poſsible, to accorde all the Nations in one, ſo to inuade the *Arwaccas*, who were guides to the *Spaniards*, in ſhewing their townes, and betraying them. For they are fullie perſwaded, that by driuing theſe *Arwaccas*, who ſerue the *Spaniards* (for a great parte of this nation doth alſo hate, or not know them) out of their territories, and *Trinidado*, the *Spaniards* for want of bread, will be inforced to ſeeke habitation farther of, or at the leaſt in time conſume and be waſted.

The 6. day of Aprill wee came to an ancor within the mouth of the riuer *Raleana*, hauing ſpent twentie and three dayes in diſcouerie vpon this coaſt. The channell of this riuer hath ſixe or ſeuen fadam depth, nine or ten miles off at ſea, the barre lyeth farther out, and at low water hath not full two fadam. It highes not aboue fiue foote, except at a ſpring tyde. We ancored in ten fadam the firſt night: the

next morning twelue *Canoas* came vnto vs, furnished & prouided of victualles after their manner for the warres. Their Captaines names were *Anawra*, and *Aparwa*. These *Cassiques* when the Spaniards made the last inrode in those parts, were in the Inland amongst the *Iwarewakerie* their neighbors, by which occasion hauing lost some of their wiues (for notwithstanding their profession of Christianitie, some of these Spaniards keep ten or twelue women, thinking themselues wel and surelie blessed, howsoeuer they liue, if their towne and houses be religiouslie crossed) they kept together thirtie *Canoas*, hoping at our comming, which they had now long expected to recouer this losse vpon them, and the *Arwaccas* who in their absence had done this wrong. They shewed me this their purpose, and required to be ioyned in league of friendship with vs against our enemies. When of them I had learned so much of the present estate of the country, as they did know: they demanded whether we had brought no more forces with vs, but onely one ship? I answered them as before I did the others, that we now came onlie to trade, not knowing vntil this present that any Spaniards wer in the *Guiana*; that vpon our returne our whole Fleete will hasten to set forwards, and that in the meane time, we woulde now visite our friends and help them so farre as we could in anie thing, that we should finde needfull presently to be done. After long discourse (for their chiefman stayed with me all night) when hee had caused mee to spit in my right hand, with manie other ceremonies which they vse in confirming friendship, he went to the shoare, and one of his *Canoas* he sent to bring forwards the other twentie: one other he caused to go vp the riuer before vs, to bring intelligence. Then calling together the cheif of his companie, they made small fyers, and sitting in their *Hamaccas*, each one sorted himself with a companion, recounting amongst themselues the worthiest deeds, and deathes of their Ancestors, execrating their enemies most despightfullie, & magnifying their

friends

friendes with all titles of praiſes and honour, that may bee deuiſed. Thus they ſit talking, and taking *Tobacco* ſome two howers, and vntill their pipes bee all ſpent (for by them they meaſure the time of this their ſolemne conference) no man muſt interrupt, or diſturbe them in anie ſorte: for this is their religion, and prayers, which they nowe celebrated, keeping a preciſe faſt one whole day, in honour of the great Princeſſe of the North, their Patroneſſe & Defender. Their *Canoas* being made readie, they accompanied vs, and in the way ſhewed vs, where the ſhoalds of the riuer doe lie. By this Captaine I learned that *Muchikeri* is the name of the countrie where *Macureguerai* the firſt towne of the Empire of *Guiana*, that lyeth towardes *Raieana*, is ſeated in a faire and exceeding large plaine, belowe the high mountaines that beare Northweſterly from it, that it is but three dayes iorney diſtant from *Carapana* his porte: and that *Monoa* is but ſixe daies farther. That they themſelues doe paſſe in three dayes into the countrie of the *Iwarewakeries* by the riuer *Amacur*, which though it be not the directeſt, yet is it the readieſt way to *Macureguerai*, for that which leadeth by *Carapana* his dwelling, is in ſome places difficult, and mounteynous. That a nation of clothed people, called *Caſſanari*, doe dwell not far from the place, where the riuer doth firſt take the name of *Orenoque*, and that farre within, they border vpon a ſea of ſalt water, named *Parime*. That a great riuer, called *Macurwini*, paſſeth through their countrie into *Orenoque*. That *Manoa* ſtandeth twentie dayes iourney from the mouth of *Wiapoco*: ſixteene dayes from *Barima*: thirteene dayes from *Amacur*, and ten dayes from *Aratoori*. That the beſt way vnto it, is not by *Macureguerai*, becauſe it is in ſome places comberſome and rockie. That of all others the *Charibes* that dwell high vp in *Orenoque*, knowe moſt of the inland, and of thoſe nations, & that they ſpeak no other language, then ſuch as *Iohn* your Interpreter doth well vnderſtand. He certified me of the headleſſe men, and that their

Her Maieſtie.

mouthes in their breaſts are exceeding wide. The name of their nation in the *Charibes* language *Chiparemai*, and the *Guianians* call them *Ewapanomos*. What I haue heard of a ſorte of people more monſtrous, I omit to mention, becauſe it is no matter of difficultie to get one of them, and the report otherwiſe will appear fabulous. Laſtlie, he told me of an Inland riuer, named *Cawrooma*, adioyning to *Aratoori*, and that the *Cuepyn* mountaines, where *Carapana* dwelleth, are hardlie acceſsible. That the *Amapagotos* haue images of gold of incredible bigneſſe, and greate ſtore of vnmanned horſes of the *Caracas* breed: and that they dwell fiue dayes iourny vp the riuer about *Caroli*. We with our fleet of *Canoas* were now not farre frō *Carapanas* port, when our intelligencer returned & informed vs that ten Spaniardes were lately gone with much trade to *Barima*, wher theſe Indians dwelt, to buy *Caſſaua* bread: and that within one day two other *Canoas* of Spaniards were appointed to come by the riuer *Amana*, to *Carapana* his porte. Vpon this occaſion they took counſell, and in the end deſired to returne to their houſes, leaſt the Spaniards finding them from home, and imagining that they did purpoſelie abſent themſelues, ſhould take away their wiues, and ſpoile their dwellings. They farther reſolued, if it were poſsible to cut them off. Which afterwards they did performe. For when they were diſperſed in their houſes ſeeking *Caſſaua*: ſuddenlie at one time, in all places they were aſſaulted, and not one of them eſcaped. *Carapana*, whoſe hande was in laying this plot, ſent vs this newes, as we returned downe the riuer. The two other *Canoas* that came from *Trinidado* by *Amana*, notwithſtanding that we kept a league before the ſhip with our boates, ſawe the ſhip before we had ſight of them, and preſentlie with all ſpeed went to *Berreo* to aduertiſe him of our comming. He foorthwith diſpatched two or three meſſengers to *Trinidado*. One of his *Canoas* met with our Spie, whome the Indians of *Barima* had left to goe with vs: they rifled him of his victuals,

They haue eminent heads like dogs, & liue all day time in the ſea. they ſpeake the Charibes language.

victuals, gaue him kniues, and dismissed him.

In 8. dayes sayling still before a wind, we arriued at *Topiawaries* porte, in all which time no Indian that wee knewe came aboord vs. For the time of our returne promised at your Lordships departure from thence, being expired; they in dispair seuered themselues amongst the other nations. Here the Spaniards haue seated their *Racereia* of some twentie or thirtie houses. The high rockie Hande, that lyeth in the middest of the riuer, against the mouth of *Caroli*, is their fort or refuge, when they mistrust safetie in their town, or haue notice of any practise against them: but nowe leauing both towne and Iland, they joyned themselues altogether, and retiring to the mouth of the riuer *Caroli*, placed there a secret ambush, to defend the passage to those mines, from whence your Oare and white stones were taken the last yeare: Wee all not without griefe to see our selues thus defeated, & our hungrie hopes made voide, were witnesses of this their remooue. As we road at an ancor within musket shot of their towne, an Indian came ynto vs with leane cheekes, thinne haire, and a squint eye, to informe vs that they were verie strong, that *Berreo* his son was with him, that they had but two small Pynnaces at *Trinidado*, which they daylie looked for to come vp the riuer, and lastlie, to view our ship wel, and our prouision, but especiallie to learne whether *Gualtero*, *Topiawarie* his sonne were with vs.

This Informers verie countenance gaue him to bee suspected, and therefore partlie by threatning, partlie by promise of reward we won him to confesse the trueth. Which he did, assuring vs that *Berreo* had not full 55. men with him, whereof twentie came lately from *Trinidado*: twentie from *Nueuo Reyno*, and the rest hee brougt with him about sixe moneths since, when he fled from *Carapana* his port; & was driuen with his small companie to keepe the foresaid Iland neer *Caroli*. And that though now his number is thus increased, yet dareth he not aduenture at any time to leaue the fast

woods,

woods, and to goe but halfe a league from his holde into the plains. That some few of the *Arwaccas* are abiding with him That he dailie looketh for his sonne from *Nueuo Reyno*, for his Campemaister from *Trinidado*, and for horses from the *Caraccas*. That *Topiawaric* is dead: the Indians of that coast all fled, and dispersed, excepting the sonne of one *Curmatoi*, and another woman of account, whom the Spaniards hold prisoners, for consenting to the death of their nine men, & the holie Frier in *Morekito* his time. This *Curmatoi* is fled towards *Guanipa*, and is a man of speciall note amongst the Indians. That *Iwiakanarie* *Gualtero* his neere kinsman, hath held the country to his vse, by his fathers appointment, euer since your being in the riuer. That there are ten shippes, and manie Spaniards at *Trinidado*. That the Indians our friendes did feare, least you with your companie were all slaine, and your ships sunke at *Cumanaw* (for so the Spaniards noysed it amongst them,) that some of *Gualtero* his frinds with *Putijma*, were in the mountaines not farre from the hill *Aio*. And that *Berreo* had sent for sixe peeces of ordinance, which hee meant to plante, where they might best cominaund the riuer.

Topiawaric his sonne.

When we had stayed here two dayes, considering that where no hope was left of doing good: to abide there in harmes way doing nothing, it would be bootlesse: I resolued to seek *Putijma* in the mounteines: and turning downe the riuer with the force of the streame some twentie miles in sixe houres: the next morning with tenne shot I went a-shore, intending if the *Indians* should thinke themselues too weake, with our helpe to displant the Spaniardes: to set some of them on worke, for hatchets and kniues to returne vs gold graines, and white stones from such places, as they should be directed vnto. When we came to the place of their vsuall abode: we sawe that they latelie had bene there, but could speake with none of them. It may be that feare (which is easie of beleefe) perswaded them that wee were Spa-

niards

niards. *Gilbert* my Pylot, here offered to bring vs eyther to the myne of white ſtones neere *Winicapora*, or els to a golde myne, which *Putyma* had ſhewed him, being but one dayes iourney ouer land, from the place where we now ſtayed at an ancor. I ſawe farre off the mountaine adioyning to this golde mine, and hauing meaſured their paths nere the ſame place this laſt yeare, could not iudge it to bee fifteene miles from vs. I doe well remember how comming that way with *Putyma* the yeare before, he pointed to this ſame mountain making ſigns to haue me go with him thither. I vnderſtood his ſignes, and marked the place, but miſtooke his meaning, imagining that he would haue ſhewed mee the ouerfall of the riuer *Curwara* from the mountains. My *Indian* ſhewed me in what ſort without diging they gather the gold in the ſand of a ſmal riuer, named *Macavini*, that ſpringeth and falleth from the rocks, where this mine is. And farther told me, that he was with *Putyma*, at what time *Morekito* was to be executed by the *Spaniards*, & that then the cheif of *Morekito* his friends were in conſultation, to ſhew this mine vnto thē, if ſo they might redeem their Captains life; but vpō better aduiſe, ſuppoſing them in this caſe to bee implacable, and that this might prooue a means to looſe not only their king, but their country alſo: they haue to this day concealed it from them, being of all others the richeſt, and moſt plentifull. The aged ſort, to keep this from common knowledge, haue deuiſed a fable of a dangerous Dragon that haunteth this place and deuoureth all that come neer it. But our *Indian*, if when we returne, we doe bring ſtore of ſtrong wine (which they loue beyond meaſure) with it will vndertake ſo to charme this Dragon, that he ſhall do vs no harme.

I, that for this end came from home, and in this iourney had taken much more paines to leſſe purpoſe, would verie gladlie from this mountaine haue taken ſo good a proofe to witnes my being in the countrey: but withall conſidering that not one *Indian* of our knowne friendes came vnto vs: that *Don Iuan* the coſen of *Gualtero*, who liueth here a

reuolt from the Spaniard was now in election to bee chiefe commander of all the Indian forces in those partes, cannot in pollicie, for *Gualtero* his sake, whose inheritance he sought to vsurpe, be a fast friend vnto vs: that the Spaniards abiding in *Winicapora* (for there were ten) might well before wee could doe any thing, and returne, cause some others of *Berreo* his men to ioyne with them, in the way to intercept vs: and forethinking withall, that there being no meanes, but by our selues to make known our discouerie, if we returned not; in our misfortune the hope of following this voyage would be buried: but besides all this, and the respect of such spyals, as the Spaniards kept to obserue our dooings, foreknowing that if the enemie should by our lingring stop our passage, which in one or two places of aduantage, fewe of them might easilie doe: it would be a question how with our ship to get out of the riuer, except first wee could remooue them: I thought it best (all other posibilities set apart) to seeke in time to bee free from the hazard of the forsaid euil passages.

Whilest we were searching at the shore for the *Indians*, my barge took a *Canoa*, with three men in her: the one a seruant to *Berreo* (as before is mentioned,) the other two marchants of *Cassana*. They had a letter sent from the Gouernour to be coueied to *Trinidado*: which I receiued. There was also a great hatchet, and twentie kniues, wherewith this *Indian* seruant should buy a *Canoa*, and hyre Indians to carie her vp the riuer towards *Nueuo Reyno*. This *Canoa* forsooth with foure others was to be sent to bring downe *Berreo* his sonne with all his forces, which now haue bene, I think, full three yeares in preparing. If fiue such boates be sufficient to conuoy him his men, and all their prouision: it may seeme, hee commeth with no great strength.

This seruant, as he was a man of especiall trust, and neer *Berreo*: so appeared hee to haue some insight in his proceedings. Hee shewed mee that the Indians, who with these kniues

kniues ſhould be hired, were to paſſe vp ſo high, as where ſome of the *Caſſanari* do dwell in ſmall villages. That *Berreo* his purpoſe was, when they came thither to leaue them there, and make them his chiefe Officers ouer the other *Indians*: and in their places ſome of the *Caſſanari* ſhould return, who likewiſe ſhould be made Iuſtices and Conſtables ouer them of *Guiana*: that from *Trinidado* he meant to remooue moſt of the old inhabitants, that would be tractable; and interpoſe them amongſt the *Caſſanarians* of *Guiana*, and the *Guianians* of the *Caſſanari*. That the *Arwaccas* ſhould wholly poſſeſſe *Trinidado*, and the riuer ſide of *Raleana*. That they alreadie were prouided of threeſcore *Negroes*, to worke the mines in theſe places. And that by this meanes *Berreo* hoped to keepe theſe ſeuerall nations in mutual enmitie each againſt other, all to ſerue his turne, and neuer to become ſtrong, or likelie to ioine thẽſelues againſt him. He farther ſhewed me that *Topiawarie* ſoone after our departure from the riuer, fled into the mountaines carrying *Hugh Godwyn* with him, and leauing a Subſtitute in his countrie, as aforeſaid: and that the next newes they heard of him was, that he was dead, and the Engliſh boy eaten by a Tyger. That the Spaniardes beleeue neither the one, nor the other. That about the end of Iune, when the riuer ſhall be impaſſable, the ten ſhips ſhall depart from *Trinidado*. And that *Berreo* euer ſince his comming to *Guiana*, hath ſpent his time altogether in purueying of victuals, whereof there is ſuch ſcarſitie, by reaſon that the Indians forſaking their houſes, haue not this half year planted any of their grounds, that the Spaniards are inforced to ſeeke their bread far off, and content themſelues to liue with little.

In ſailing vp the riuer, we paſſed by *Toparimacko* his port, which in one place is verie ſhoald, the channell lying cloſe aboord the ſhoare. We returned therfore another way by the maine riuer on the South ſide: this branch we founde large, deep, and without danger. When we were come nere

*Carapana* his port: he ſent fiue or ſixe ſeuerall *Canoas*, promiſing this day and the next, that he would come aud ſpeak with vs. Thus we lingred ſix or ſeuen daies, but he came not. In the end hee ſent one of his aged followers, to certifie vs, that he was ſicke, olde and weake: that the wayes neere his dwelling are not eaſie: and that therefore he deſired vs to hold him excuſed for not comming. This olde man dilated vnto vs, that *Carapana* in hope of our returne, hath euer ſince yõur Lordſhips being in that countrie, kept the mountains, where the Spaniards can hardlie anie way inforce him; that they haue taken from him and his people, manie of their wiues, becauſe they refuſed to furniſh them weekelie with a certaine proportion of bread and victualles: that *Don Iuan* otherwiſe called *Paracano* hath the commandement of all his ſubiectes, excepting onelie a choiſe guarde of men ſufficient to keep the place hee now dwelleth in. That it repenteth him of his ambition, euer to haue ſought by the Spaniards meanes, to haue enlarged his countries and people. For true it is that from the beginning he was a Lord of no other then ordinarie power amongſt them, vntil he had entered into frinedſhip with *Berreo*: for then the Indians on all ſides left ſome their habitations, and manie their commanders to become his ſubiectes, that ſo they might haue the priuiledge to trade with the Spaniards for hatchets and kniues, which are rare iewels of great price amongſt them. that he now ſaw no other choiſe, but that the *Indians* muſt, if they will doe well, without farther diſſembling of their neceſsitie, either entertaine vs their friends, or els giue place to the Spaniards their enemies. For the plentie of golde that is in this countrie, being now known and diſcouered, there is no poſsibilitie for them to keepe it: on the one ſide; they could feele no greater miſerie, nor feare more extremitie, then they were ſure to finde, if the Spaniardes preuayled, who perforce doe take all things from them, vſing them as their ſlaues, to runne, to rowe, to be their guides, to carrie

their

their burthens,and that which is worſt of all, to be content, for ſaftie of their liues,to leaue their women, if a Spaniard chaunce but to ſet his eie on anie of them to fancie her: on the other ſide; they could hope for,nor deſire no better ſtate and vſage, then her Maieſties gracious gouernment, and princelie vertues do promiſe, and aſſure vnto them. For, ſaid he, when the other yeare,we fled into the mountains, and meaſuring your doinges by the Spaniardes in like caſe, made no other account, but that your Commander being able,as he was,would doubtleſſe haue perſecuted vs to the vttermoſt, as the onlie maintaineres and ſupporters of your enemies,and would at the leaſt, if hee could not reach vs, take our townes, and make vs ranſome our wiues and children: we found it farre otherwiſe,and that none of your well gouerned companie durſt offer any of vs wrong or violence,no not by ſtealth when vnknowne they might haue done it. We then beleeuing it to be true, that your grand Captaine reported of his Princeſſe, tooke this for a good proofe of her royall commandement and wiſedome, that had framed her ſubiects to ſuch obedience,and of your happineſſe; that enioyed the benefite thereof: that *Carapana* weighing the good and friendlie courſe of our proceedings, doth humblie craue of her Maieſtie for himſelf and his people,that with the reſt of the *Indians*, which whollie depende on her princelie regard towards them; hee alſo may enioy her fauourable protection. that he doth this, not as a man left vnto himſelfe,and forſaken by the Spaniards, but as one that knoweth their iniuſtice, hateth their cruelties, & taketh it for his beſt choiſe,vtterlie to diſclaime their friendſhip. It may bee pertinent (as ſurelie it is a thing worth the noting) to conſider how this preſident, of your moderation & good order,which to vs ſeemeth a matter but of ſmal,and ordinarie reſpect,hath both alienated their hearts altogether from the Spaniard, and ſtirred vp in them true loue and admiration therof,For as gouernment is the only bond of com-

mon ſocietie : ſo to men lawleſſe , that each one to another are, *Omnes hoc iure moleſti, quo fortes:* To men, I ſay, that liue in daylie tumultes, feares , doubtes , ſuſpitions , barbarous cruelties, neuer ſleeping ſecure, but alwaies either drunke, or practiſing one anothers death: to ſuch men as theſe be, who wanting diſcipline, iuſtice, & good order to confirme them in a quiet and peaceable courſe of liuing, knowe not where to find it: the ſence and ſweetneſſe thereof, is as the dewe of *Hermon*: it is as the harmonie of a well tuned Inſtrument: to be briefe, it carieth in it ſelfe not onlie a due and worthie commendation; but is auayleable without ſtroke ſtriking to gaine a kingdome. For the *Indians* in all partes within and neere the *Guiana*, doe offer their ſeruice, and promiſe to prouide victuall, and what els their countrie yeeldeth , deſiring onlie that ſome force of men may remaine with them; to deliuer them from oppreſsion and tyrannie. And now by generall conſent (though hatchets and kniues be the onelie things of requeſt and vſefull vnto them) they haue agreed by no means to trade with the Spaniard for anie thing. Farther, this old man ſhewed me, whēce moſt of their gold cōmeth, that is formed in ſo manie & diuers faſhions: whence their Spleene-ſtones, and others of all ſortes are to be had in plentie : where gold is to be gathered in the ſandes of their riuers : from what partes the Spaniards, both by trade, and otherwiſe, haue returned much golde. This he vttered with *Carapana* his conſent (I doubt not) hoping thereby to induce vs to returne againe. For contrarie to their lawe of ſecrecie, which in this caſe they doe all generallie obſerue, ſharplie puniſhing the breakers thereof, as enemies vnto their natiue countrie: I found this man no whit ſcrupulous, but verie free and liberall of ſpeech in all things.

And becauſe we might know, that wee ſhould not want handes or helpe, in this or anie other our enterpriſes, if perhaps we ſhould find cauſe to paſſe vp to the head of this riuer; he declared that the Spaniards haue no Indians to truſt

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vnto but some of the *Arwaccas*, which since they were not manie could be but of smal force: That the *Charibes* of *Guanipa*, the *Ciawannas* amongst the *Tiuitiuas*, the *Shebaios*, *Iaos*, *Amuipagotos*, *Cassipagotos*, *Putpagotos*, *Samipagotos*, *Serowos*, *Etaiguinams*, *Cassamari*, with the rest of the nations farre and neere, were all readie, on what side soeuer the Spaniard shal stirre, to fight against them: that the *Pariagotos*, through whose country they must first passe, are alone sufficiēt to incounter them, such is the strength of their countrie, and the valure of the men. The Indians hold opinion, that they are notable sorcerers, and inuulnerable, In the mountains where they dwell white stones are founde of such hardnesse, that by no arte or meanes they can bee pearced: they imagine that these *Pariagotos* become inuulnerable, by eating these stones. The fable omitted, happelie they may prooue good Diamonds.

Then hee shewed howe the *Iwarewakeri* haue nourished grasse in all places, where passage is, these three yeares, and that it is at this present so high as some of the trees; which they meane to burne, so soone as the Spaniard shall be within danger thereof. Lastlie, he shewed mee that *Wariarimagoto* the Emperours chiefe Captaine for those partes, hath gathered together manie thousands of the *Epuremai*, to keep the borders of the Empire; and that hee lay now on the south side of the mountaines, some one dayes iourney, or little more from the Spaniard. To be short, hee certified me, that they all were resolued not to seeke vpon them (for indeed they feare their shot) but to defend their owne, and to expect our comming. In the meane time they take opportunities, when they finde anie of them straggling or deuided from their strength, by little & little, to lessen their number.

The place, where we were at an ancor was but one daies iourney from *Carapana*: I therefore made motion to this Captaine to staie with two or three of his company aboord

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the ſhip, & to cauſe his men to bring me with my Interpreter to *Carapana* his dwelling: he anſwered that it were not good ſo to doe, leaſt perhaps ſome Spie might informe the *Spaniardes* thereof, whereby daunger would growe to *Carapana*. For they haue manie times vſed manie meanes to reconcile him vnto them: but hee from time to time hath dalyed with them, neither profeſsing himſelfe their enemy, nor in aught ſhewing them anie friendſhip. Now ſaid hee) if the *Spaniard* ſhall by anie meanes come to knowledge, that you haue conferred together, they will take this occaſion to perſecute him with all extremitie, as their open enemie, whom they now neglect, or at the leaſt feare not, as being an harmeleſſe olde man. And for this cauſe onelie hath *Carapana* forborne to come vnto you.

By this I perceiued, that to ſtay longer for him (though gladlie I could haue bene content to ſpende one ſeuenights more to ſpeake with him) would bee purpoſeleſſe. Wherefore hauing aſſured ſo manie of the *Indians*, as at anie time came vnto vs, of our ſpeedie returne, promiſing them plenty of kniues, beades, and hatchets, if they would reſerue their *Caſſana*, and prouide ſtore of their peeces of golde for vs: I deſired this Captaine to bee a meanes that our friendes of *Trinidado* might vnderſtand of our being in the riuer, and that wee meant to releeue them ſo ſoone, as conuenientlie might bee. Hee promiſed in *Carapana* his behalfe, that this ſhould not be forgotten. One of the Captaines of the *Cyawannas*, who doe now dwell in the riuer *Arawawo*, neere *Trinidado*, vndertooke alſo without faile to aſcertaine them thereof. I was the more carefull herein, becauſe ſo many ſhips being there, I doubted leaſt they would take order that no *Indian* ſhould ſpeake with vs. For ſo indeed it fell out.

This Captain of the *Cyawannas* came likewiſe to ioyn with vs, and had prouided fifteen *Canoas* for that purpoſe. Their dwelling was lately in *Maſwreo*, wher the *Spaniards* one night

ſtealing

ſtealing on them, killed twentie of their men, and burnt their houſes, becauſe they refuſed to trade with them for certain images of gold made with manie heades, which they had gotten out of the *Guiana*. I ſent a preſent of Yron to *Carapana*, and then ſet ſaile.

In turning downe the riuer we ſpent eight daies. In manie places where the channell lyeth, wee found twentie fadam depth: where it is ſholdeſt, wee had two fadam and a halfe, and that but in one or two places. Of the woorthyneſſe of this riuer, becauſe I cannot ſay ynough, I wil ſpeak nothing. Wee haue preſumed to call it by the name of *Raleana*, becauſe your ſelfe was the firſt of our nation that euer entred the ſame, and I thinke it nothing inferiour to *Amaſones*, which is beſt knowne by the name of *Orelíana*, the firſt diſcouerer thereof. By turning onlie, without helpe of owers, to paſſe ſo long a way, in ſo ſhorte a time, againſt the winde, may ſufficiently prooue, that the channell is verie large, good, and likelie to ſecond our hopes in all that we can deſire. Without the mouth of this riuer, our Pynnace, the *Diſcouerer*, whome wee loſt neere the coaſt of *England*, came vnto vs. She fel with this land ſomewhat to the Southward of *Cape Cecyll*, and had ſpent three weeks and od daies in ranging alongſt the coaſt, when ſhe met with vs. *William Downe* the Maiſter, informed me that they entred, & ſearched theſe foure riuers. In *Wiapoco* they ſayled ſo farre, vntil the rocks ſtopped their paſſage. In *Caiane* they went vp one dayes iourny. In *Cunanama* they found manie inhabitants. *Curitini* was the laſt riuer they had bene in. Whence, hauing no other means to find *Raleana*, they were inforced to borrow a Pilot againſt his wil: whom afterwards I would haue returned with reward to his contentment; but he would not.

Our Engliſh that to ſteale the firſt bleſsing of an vntraded place, will perhaps ſecretlie haſten thither, may bee beholding to me for this caueat, if they take notice thereof. They may be aſſured, that this people, as they no way ſought

our harme, but vſed our men with all kindneſſe: ſo are they impacient of ſuch a wrong, as to haue anie of their people perforce taken from them, and will doubtleſſe ſeek reuenge. The example of the like practiſe vpon the coaſt of *Ginnie*, in the yeare 1566. and againe at *Dominica*, where Alderman *Wats* his ſhip hardlie eſcaped being taken, may ſerue for our warning in like caſe to looke for no good, before they bee ſatisfied for this iniurie.

When we had taken aboord vs ſuch victuals as were in the Pynnace: we ſet fire in her, (for her Rudder could ſerue her to no longer vſe) and ſtopping the flouds, plyed to windward with the ebbe neere the ſhoare, vntill we were ſixteen leagues to the Eaſtward of the riuers mouth, and then ſtanding off to ſea, we fell in 24. houres ſayling with *Punto Gallera* the Northeaſtermoſt part of *Trinidado*. But hauing *Tobacco* Iland in ſight, we firſt went thither. This Iland is plentifull of all thinges, and a very good ſoyle. It is not nowe inhabited, becauſe the *Charibes* of *Dominica*, are euil neighbours vnto it They of *Trinidado* haue a meaning and purpoſe to flie thither when no longer they can keep *Trinidado*. Their onlie doubt is, that when they are ſeated there, the *Spaniard* will ſeeke to poſſeſſe it alſo. The Gouernour of *Marguerita* went latelie in a pynnace to viewe this Iland. *Gilbert* my Pylot who ſomtime liued there, noteth it for the beſt and fruitfulleſt ground that he knoweth.

Thence we returned to *Punto Gallera* and ancored in ten fadam vnder the northſide of the Ilande ſome fiue or ſixe miles from the ſaid point. The ſtoud-tyde ſtriketh alongſt the coaſt to the Eaſtward verie ſtronglie. Wee diſcharged a peece of ordinance, and afterwardes went to the ſhoare in our boat: but no *Indian* came vnto vs. I would haue ſent *Iohn* of *Trinidado* to procure ſome of them to ſpeake with vs: but he was altogether vnwilling, alleadging that their dwellings were farre within the mountaines, and that he knew no part of that ſide of the Iland. Frō this place we ſet ſaile for S. *Luce*

but

but fell with the *Granadas*, which we found not inhabited. S. *Vincent* we hardly recouered by turning vnder the liegh of the Iland. The *Tobacco* of this place is good: but the *Indians* being *Cambals*, promising vs store, and delaying vs from day to day, sought onlie opportunitie to betray, take and eat vs. as latelie they had deuoured the whole companie of a French ship. This their treacherie being by one of their slaues reuealed, from thencefoorth they did all forbeare to come vnto vs. To sit downe on their lowe stooles, when they by offring such ease, will seeme to shewe curtesie, abodeth death to strangers, that shall trust them. At *Matalino* wee found not any inhabitants. Lastlie, wee came to *Dominica*, where we could get no good Tobacco. But hauing intelligence of a Spanish ship, that was taking in of fresh water, at the northwest side of the Iland; we wayed ancor to seek him He descrying vs, stole away by night. The *Indians* of this place haue determined to remooue, and ioyne with them of *Guanipa*, against the *Spaniards*, who lately dispeopled one of their Ilãds, & at our being ther, one of their *Canoas* returned frõ *Guanipa*, & certified vs that the ten Spanish ships at *Trinidado*, do ride some of them at *Conquerabia*, the rest at the small Ilandes neere the disimboging place. Herehence wee steered North and by East, taking the directest course to shorten our way homewards.

Thus haue I emptied your purse, spending my time and trauell in following your Lordships directions for the full discouery of this coast, and the ruers thereof. Concerning the not making of a voyage for your priuate profit, I pretend nothing. Sorie I am, that where I sought no excuse, by the Spaniards being there, I founde my defect remedilesse. And for mine owne part, I doe protest, that if the consideration of the publike good, that may ensue, had not ouerpoysed all other hopes, and desires: I would rather haue adventured by such small and weake meanes as I had, to doe well with danger, then to returne onlie with safetie. Now

although in a cauſe not doubtfull, my allegation is no way needfull: yet becauſe the waightineſſe thereof, and the expectation of others, ſeemeth of due & right to claime, ſomthing to be ſaid by me, whom your eſpecial truſt and fauour hath credited and graced with this imployment: Pardon it (I beſeech your Honour) if, where my lamp had oile, it borrow light alſo; and my ſpeech, which is altogether vnſauorie, ſeaſon it ſelfe with ſome of the leauen of your own diſcourſe touching this diſcouerie. The particular relation of ſome certaine thinges, I haue reſerued, as properlie belonging to your ſelfe, who onlie, as knowing moſt, can make beſt vſe thereof. So much in generall is here touched, as (I hope) may ſerue to refreſh the memorie of this worthie enterpriſe in thoſe whom it may concerne, and teſtifie your care and expence in following the ſame: That in a ſecond age, when in time truth ſhall haue credite, and men woondering at the richeſſe, and ſtrength of this place, which nature her ſelfe hath marueilouſlie fortified, as her chiefe treaſure houſe, ſhal mourn and ſigh to hold idle ickles, whileſt others reap, & gather in this harueſt: it be not ſaid, that Sir *Walter Ralegh* was of al men liuing in his daies, moſt induſtrious in ſeeking, moſt fortunat in attaining to the fulnes of an ineſtimable publique good: if, knowing that for enuy & priuate reſpectes, his labors were leſſened, his informations miſtruſted, his proffers not regarded, and the due honour of his deſerts imparted to others. If (I ſay) ſeeing, knowing and bearing all this, hee with patience had perſiſted in ſo good a way of doing his Princeſſe, and countrie ſeruice; and had but perfected his firſt diſcouerie by ſending a ſhip, or two for that purpoſe: for then ſurelie all lets & doubts being remooued, and ſo large a kiugdome, ſo exceeding rich, ſo plentifull of all things, as this by his diſcourſe, appeared to be, being offered: no deuiſes, and vaine ſurmiſes could haue taken place, no illuſions could haue preuayled, it had been blindneſſe and deafneſſe in thoſe that being neere her

Maieſtie;

Maieſtie: do ſpend their daies in ſeruing the cómon weale; not to ſee, and know in ſo waightie a matter: it had beene malicious obſtinacie, impotencie of minde, and more then treaſon to the common wealth, the matter ſtanding onlie vpon acceptance, to ſeeke either to foreſlowe ſo fit an occaſion, or forſake ſo generall a bleſsing. This, if, is nowe cut off through a ſingular and incomparable temper, in ouercomming euill with good: This your ſecond diſcouerie hath not onlie found a free & open entrance into *Raleana*, which the Naturals call *Orenoque*: but moreouer yeeldeth choiſe of fourtie ſeuerall great riuers (the leſſer I doe not recken) being for the moſt part with ſmall veſſels nauigable, for our merchants and others, that doe now finde little profit in ſetting foorth for repriſall, to exerciſe trade in. To ſuch as ſhall be willing to aduenture in ſearch of them, I could propoſe ſome hope of gold mines, & certain aſſurance of peeces of made golde, of Spleen-ſtones, Kidney ſtones, and others of better eſtimate: but becauſe our beleefe ſeemeth to bee mated in theſe greater matters, & a certaintie of ſmaller profits, is the readieſt inducement to quicken our weak hopes; I not going ſo far as mine own eyes might warrāt me, do onlie promiſe in theafore ſaid riuers, Braſil wood, honey, Cotten, *Balſamū*, & drugs to help defray charges: & farther, becauſe without a beginning there can bee no continuance of theſe benefits vnto our country, to anie that ſhalbe the firſt vnder takers hereof, I am gladly content, to giue ſuch light & knowledge, as by conferēce with the *Indians* I haue attained vnto.

My ſelfe, and the remaine of my few yeares, I haue bequeathed whollie to *Raleana*, and all my thoughtes liue only in that action. The proſecuting whereof is in it ſelfiuſt, profitable, and neceſſarie. Iuſt: becauſe it is intended for the defence of harmeleſſe people, who fearing thraldom, and oppreſsion, deſire to protect themſelues and their countrey vnder her Maieſties tuition: Profitable, as may bee gathered not onlie by manie Spaniſh letters intercepted, but

also by the proofes mentioned in the discourse of the first discouery, and since that, by the *Indians* owne voluntarie relations: and lastlie, by the prouision that the *Spaniardes* doe make to acquite vs thereof. Necessarie it is, as being the onlie help to put a byt in the mouth of the vnbrideled *Spaniard*; the onlie way to enter into his treasurie of *Nueuo Reyno*, and *Peru*; the onlie means to animate the wronged *Indians*, with our assistance, to seeke reuenge for the extreame murthers and cruelties, which they haue endured, and to ruinate his naked cities in all those partes of the Inlande, whose foundations haue beene laid in the bloud of their parents and ancestors.

The forces that the *Spaniard* hath alreadie sent to *Trinidado*, to fortifie there, and keep the passage of this riuer, are an euident argument, that the king feareth and doubteth the sequele of this discouerie. For can it bee a small matter? or hath he so waste imployment for his men and shipping, that vpon no ground, he would send 28. shippes, to keepe vs onlie from *Tobacco*? (for what els that good is can *Trinidado* yeeld vs?) no doubtlesse, if the returne of *Berreo* his Campe-maister with ten of these shippes, bee compared with precedent aduertisments concerning him: it will appeare more then probable, that the *Guiana* golde waged these men and shipping: and that they are now more carefull to obtaine this place, then to keepe others, which they haue alreadie gotten, which note except in matters of extraordinarie account, is not incident to their pollicie and proceedings. Againe, it cannot be thought but that either it was senceless madnesse in the gouernours of *Marguerita*, and the *Caraccas* to bring their states, and liues in question, by seeking contrarie to their kings order, to enter the *Guiana*, and kill *Berreo* with his his followers: or els the abundance of pearle in *Marguerita*, and the golde mines in the *Caraccas*, seeming matters of small account: the *Guiana* onlie was in their iudgement, rich, plentifull, and able of it

selfe

ſelfe to redeeme their treſpaſſe and offence, how great ſoeuer it ſhould be.

The ſundry attempts and ouerthrowes of the Spaniards being men of power, and honourable place, in labouring theſe 63. yeares, and vpwards to inlarge the kingdome of *Spaine*, with this mightie and great Empire, doe plainlie ſhow, that they long time ſought a path, where in one moneth a high way was found: that the loſſe of their liues witneſſeth their deſires, & the worthineſſe of the thing, where to vs the eaſineſſe of obtaining diſcrediteth the greatneſſe of the attempt: and that if now at the laſt they doe preuaile, they muſt holde by tyrannie that which they get by the ſword; where then our returne nothing by the *Indians* is more wiſhed for nothing expected more earneſtly.

Thoſe obiections, which haue bene made by manie ſeeming wiſe and the impediments likelie to ariſe, as they haue ſuppoſed, are beſt anſwered by the vnreprooued witneſſe of theſe mens actions. Some haue tearmed theſe diſcoueries fables, and fantaſies, as if there had bene no ſuch land, or territorie: others allowing both of the place, and that ſuch a kingdome or country is diſcouered, make concluſion that if it had beene ſo rich, as wee haue ſuppoſed: that no doubt the king of *Spaine* would by this time haue poſſeſt it. But if they conſider that the Spaniſh nation hath already conquered the two Empires of *Mexico*, and *Peru*, with ſo manie other kingdomes and prouinces: wee may very well anſwere, that his power is not infinite, and that hee hath done well for the time. And yet it is manifeſt, that this very Empire hath beene by all thoſe ſeuerall Spaniards (the catalogue of whoſe names, is by it ſelfe hereunto annexed) at ſundrie times vndertaken, and neuer performed. Howbeit, the world hath reaſon to admire their conſtancie, and their great labours, and we may well bluſh at our owne idle, diſpairefull, and loytering diſpoſitions, that can find abilitie in another barren, and ſterued nation, to poſſeſſe ſo much of

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the worlde: and can doe nothing but frame argumentes against our selues as vnfit and powerlesse to possesse one prouince already discouered, and of which our nation hath assurance of the peoples loue, and that all the Chieftaines and principalles haue vowed their obedience and seruice to her Maiestie; the nauigation being withall so short, dangerlesse and free from infectious sickneſſe. If doubt of perils might moderate the mindes of men once mooued with stedfast hope, that golde shall be the reward of their trauels: it may easilie be perceiued that all those lettes and hinderances, that can anie way bee alleadged, or wrested so much, as but to touch vs, doe deeply and neerelie concerne the Spanish king, and in a manner violentlie with-holde him from that, which he notwithstanding carieth with successe, whilest we out of season, doe affect the bare style, to bee named men stayed and circumspect in our proceedings. It is reported, that *Calanus* the *Indian* threw downe before *Alexander* the great, a drie seare peece of leather, and then put his foot on one of the endes of it: the leather being trode downe on that side, rose on all partes els. By this the wise man did shewe vnto him a figure and similitude of his kingdome, which being exceeding large, must of necessitie in all other partes, excepting the place of the kings residence, bee alwayes ful of stirres, tumults, & insurrections. The end afterwards confirmed, that this Empire consisting of sundry nations, could not keep it selfe from dissolution. No potentate liuing hath, or can haue so faithful & incorrupt Counsellers, as be the examples and histories of forepassed ages. Wee may therefore be bold to thinke that the Gouernours of the Spanish affaires should mind it, that their kings lustfull desire, and ambicious thoughtes to establish ouer all *Europe* one lawe, one Lord, one religion, are built and erected on a dangerous vngrounded resolution: Considering that many of the neighbour kingdomes being of equall force in men, or greater then he can make, are setled in a long continued

estate

eſtate, are entire within themſelues, and hate to heare the voyce of a ſtranger. It is not vnlikelie that they in this caſe ſhoulde lay before their king the fatall deſtinies of manie Worthies, that haue beene conſtrayned for want of ſufficient numbers of their naturall ſubiectes, after manie yeares ſpent in the warres, to retyre to their owne countries, and haue bene glad peaceablie to hold their owne Signiories at home, reſigning all that vnto others, which they haue gotten abroad by hard aduenture, and much effuſion of blood. The King of *Spaine* cannot but diſcerne, that his ſpacious Empires and kingdomes being ſo manie, and ſo farre diuided one from another, are like the members of a monſtrous bodie, tyed together with cables onlie For take away the trafique of vnneceſſarie commodities tranſported out of *Spaine*: thoſe huge countries of the *Indies* hauing no common linke of affinity, lawe, language, or religion, and being of themſelues able to maintaine themſelues without forreine commerce are not ſo ſimple, as not to know their owne ſtrength, and to finde, that they doe rather poſſeſſe *Spaniardes*, then that they are poſſeſſed by them. He cannot be ignorant that *Spaine* it ſelf is on all ſides enuironed with many puiſant enemies, mighty & great princes, who knowing it to be rich without men, confident without reaſon, proud & aduenturous without means ſufficient; may happelie confederate to chaſtiſe him, as an inſolent intruder, and diſturber of all quietneſſe; and going no farther then *Spaine* it ſelfe, may euen there ſhake the foundation of his long contriued deuiſes, and in one act redeeme the time, controll his aſpiring humor, and breake the bandes in ſunder, that import ſeruitude, and ſubuerſion to all the dominions of Chriſtendome. Againe, his counſell may well informe him, that to diſpeople and diſable himſelfe at home, in hope to obtaine the *Guiana*, being a countrey ſtrong of it ſelfe, and defended with infinite multitudes of *Indian* enemies, being rich, and by the inhabitantes offered vnto the Engliſh: his

contempt towards vs would ſeeme ſo intollerable and deſpightfull as might be ſufficient to prouoke vs, though otherwiſe we had no ſuch inclination; if he vnprouided of able helpes to effect it, ſhould reſt himſelfe on a careleſſe preſumption, that we cannot, we dare not, we wil not, ſtirre in a matter that promiſeth vs ſo great benefite, and may ſo highlie offend him. He may be perſwaded, that to leaue no other ſuccour or ſafetie to his nakednes, but the olde, ſtale practiſe of ſpreading rumours, and giuing out falſe intelligence of preparations to inuade *England*, thereby to keepe vs at home; or els of hyring and ſuborning ſome *Machauelian* vnder hand by ſecrete conueyance, to ſtop the courſe of our proceedings; or laſtlie, of procuring ſome wilde outlaw to diſquiet our tranquilitie; is but a poore, weake, and vncertaine ſtaie to vphold his eſtate by. And yet ſetting ſuch like driftes aſide: what can be imagined likelie to hinder vs from preuailing in the *Guiana*, rather then him, whoſe diſaduantage it is to be encombred with the ſelf ſame, and manifold more impedimentes, then can any way bee ſuppoſed, with good cauſe to impeach, or diuorce vs from ſo profitable an attempt? All this notwithſtanding, if the Spaniſh king not being able to diſſemble his deſire, or beare the loſſe of this one kingdome; putting himſelfe out of his ſtrength at home, and expoſing his people to the hazarde of all caſualties abroad, be reſolued whatſoeuer ſhall happen, not to relinquiſh the *Guiana*, but to keep this one Iron more in the fire, on no other aſſurance, but a peremptorie diſdaine of preuention: If he appeare ſo eagerlie bent for the *Guiana*, as if it were enacted for a lawe amongſt themſelues, *Vis & modis* to thruſt for it, and not to heare, conceiue, or beleeue anie thing, that may diſſwade or deterr them from the conqueſt thereof: It then appertayneth vnto vs, not to inforce thoſe obiections againſt our ſelues, which he with leſſe reaſon reiecteth, as friuolous; ſince by how much the more earneſt hee is in following this purpoſe: by ſo much the leſſe

cauſe

cauſe haue we to be diuerted from it. To ſuch as ſhall bee willing farther to wade in this argument; for breuities ſake, I doe propoſe onlie this bare aſſertion: that *England* & the *Guiana* conioyned, are ſtronger, and more eaſilie defended, then if *England* alone, ſhould repoſe her ſelfe on her owne force, and powerfulneſſe. The reaſons that might be inferred to prooue this, need no rationall diſcourſe: they are all intimated in the onlie example of *Spaine* it ſelfe; which without the *Indies*, is but a purſe without money, or a painted ſheath without a dagger. In ſumme: it ſeemeth vnto me, that whereas the difficultie of performing this enterpriſe, hath bene produced for a diſcouragment: it were a conceipt of ſtrange weaknes in our ſelues, to diſtruſt our own power ſo much; or at leaſt, our owne hearts and courages; as valewing the Spaniſh nation to be omnipotent; or yeelding that the poore *Portugall* hath that maiſtering ſpirite, and conquering induſtrie, aboue vs; as to be able to ſeat himſelfe amongſt the manie mighty princes of the Eaſt *Indies*, to frontier *China*, to holde in ſubiection the *Philippines*, *Zeilan*, *Calecut*, *Goa*, *Ormus*, *Mozambique*, and the reſt; the nauigation being ſo tedious and full of perill: to ſuffer our ſelues to be put backe for worthleſſe cyphers, out of place, without account. All which Regions being now alſo by the late conqueſt of *Portugall*, entituled to the Spaniſh king: to whome the *Colonies* of thoſe partes doe yet generallie refuſe to ſweare fealtie and allegeance: and the care depending on him, not onlie of gouerning them in the Eaſt, ſo farre off; but alſo of ordering and ſtrengthening of thoſe diſvnited, ſcattered, and ill guarded Empires and prouinces in the Weſt: It might verie well be alleadged to the ſaid Spaniſh king, that it were more wiſedome for him to aſſure and fortifie ſome part of thoſe already gotten, then to begin the conqueſt of *Guiana*, ſo farre ſeperate from the reſt of his *Indies*: in which he hath had ſo manie misfortunes, and againſt whome the naturall people are ſo impetuouſlie

bent and oppoſed: were it not, that it exceedeth all the reſt in aboundance of gold, and other riches. The caſe then ſo ſtanding: is it not meere wretchedneſſe in vs, to ſpend our time, breake our ſleep, and waſte our braines, in contriuing a cauelling falſe title to defraude a neighbour of halfe an akor of land: whereas here whole ſhyeres of fruitfull rich groundes lying now waſte for want of people, doe proſtitute themſelues vnto vs, like a faire and beautifull woman, in the pride and flower of deſired yeares?

If we doe but conſider, howe vnhappelie *Berreo* his affaires, with his aſsiſtāts haue of late years, in our own knowledge ſucceeded: who can ſay, if the hand of the Almighty be not againſt them, and that he hath a work in this place, inſteed of Papiſtrie, to make the ſyncere light of his Goſpell to ſhine on this people? The effecting whereof ſhall bee a royall crowne of euerlaſting remembrance to all other bleſſings, that from the beginning, the Lord hath plentifullie poured on our dread Soueraigne, in an eminent, and ſupreame degree of all perfection. If the *Caſtilians* pretending a religious care of planting Chriſtianitie in thoſe partes, haue in their doings preached nought els but auarice, rapine, blood, death, and deſtruction to thoſe naked, ſheeplike creatures of God; erecting Statues and Trophees of victorie vnto themſelues, in the ſlaughters of millions of Iunocents: doth not the crie of the poore ſuccourleſſe aſcend vnto the heauens? Hath God forgotten to be gracious vnto the workmanſhip of his owne hands? or ſhall not his iudgementes in a day of viſitation by the miniſterie of his * choſen ſeruant, come on theſe bloodthirſtie butchers, like raine into a fleece of wooll? *Aliquando manifeſta, aliquando occulta: ſemper iuſta ſunt Dei iudicia.*

Her Maieſtie.

To leaue this digreſsion. It is fit onelie for a Prince to beginne and ende this worke: the maintenance and ordering thereof requireth Soueraigne power, authoritie and commandement. The riuer of *Raleana* giueth open and free

free paſſage, anie prouiſion that the Spaniard can make to the contrarie, notwithſtanding; (for once yearelie the lands neere the riuer be all drowned) to conuey men, horſe, munition, and victuall for anie power of men, that ſhall be ſent thither.

I doe ſpeake it on my ſoules health as the beſt teſtimony, that I can in any cauſe yeeld, to auerre a trueth, that hauing now the ſecond time bene in this countrie, & with the helps of time, and leiſure well aduiſed my ſelfe vpon all circumſtances to be thought on; I can diſcerne no ſufficient impediment to the contrarie, but that with a competent nnmber of men, her Maieſtie may to her and her ſucceſſors, enioy this rich and great empire: and hauing once planted there, may for euer (by the fauour of God) hold and keepe it, *Contra Iudæos & Gentes*. Subiects, I doubt not, may through her Maieſties gracious ſufferance, ioyning their ſtrength together, inuade, ſpoile, and ouerrunne it, returning with golde and great riches. But what good of perpetuitie can followe thereof? Or who can hope that they will take any other courſe, then ſuch, as tendeth to a priuate and preſent benefite; conſidering that an Empire once obtained, is of congruitie, how, and whereſoeuer the charge ſhall grow, to be annexed vnto the Crowne? The riches of this place are not fit for anie priuate eſtate: no queſtion, they wil rather proue ſufficient to croſſe, and counteruaile the Spaniard his proceedings in all partes of Chriſtendome, where his money maketh way to his ambition.

If the neceſsitie of following this enterpriſe do nothing vrge vs, becauſe in ſome caſe better a miſchiefe, then an inconuenience; let the conueniencie thereof ſomewat moue vs, in reſpect both of ſo manie Gentlemen, ſouldiours, and younger brothers, who, if they for want of imployment, doe not die like cloyed cattell in ranck eaſefulneſſe; are inforced for maintenance ſake, ſometimes to take ſhamefull and vnlawfull courſes: and in reſpect of ſo manie handi-

craftsmen hauing able bodies, that doe liue in cleanneſſe of teeth, and pouertie. To ſacrifice the children of the com-
Tyborne. mon weale vnto *Beliall*, is not to defile the land with blood, becauſe the law of God doth not prohibit it, and the execution of iuſtice requireth it to bee ſo: but yet if the waterboughes, that ſucke and feed on the iuice, and nouriſhment that the fruitfull branches ſhould liue by, are to be cut down from the tree, and not regarded: luckie, and proſperous be that right hand, that ſhal plant and poſſeſſe them with a ſoyle, where they may fructifie, increaſe, and growe to good: thriſe honourable and bleſſed be the memorie of ſo charie table adeed, from one generation to another.

To conclude. Your Lordſh. hath paid for the Diſcouery and ſearch, both in your owne perſon, and ſince by me. You haue framed it, and moulded it readie for her Maieſtie, to ſet on her ſeale. If either enuie or ignorance, or other deuiſe fruſtrate the reſt: the good which ſhall growe to our enemies, and the loſſe which will come to her Maieſtie and this kingdome, will after a fewe yeares ſhewe it ſelfe. Wee haue more people, more ſhippes, and better meanes, and yet doe nothing. The Spaniſh king hath had ſo ſweete a taſte of the riches thereof, as notwithſtanding that hee is Lord of ſo manie Empires and kingdomes alreadie, notwithſtanding his enterpriſes of *Fraunce* and *Flaunders*, notwithſtanding that hee attended this yeare a home inuaſion: yet he ſent twentie eight ſaile to *Trinidado*, whereof ten were for that place, and *Guiana*, and had ſome other ſhippes readie at *Cades*, if the ſame had not beene by my Lord, her Maieſties Generall, and your Lordſhip ſet on fyre.

In one word. The time ſerueth, the like occaſion ſeldome happeneth in manie ages, the former repeated conſiderations doe all iointlie together importune vs, nowe, or neuer to make our ſelues rich, our poſteritie happie, our Prince euerie way ſtronger thē our enemies, and to eſta-

bliſh

bliſh our Countrey in a ſtate flouriſhing and peaceable. O lett not then ſuch an indignitie reſt on vs, as to depraue ſo notable an enterpriſe with falſe rumors, and vaine ſuppoſitions, to ſleepe in ſo ſerious a matter, and renouncing the honour, ſtrengrh, wealth, and ſoueraingtie of ſo famous conqueſt, to leaue all vnto the Spaniard.

## *A Table of the names of the Riuers, and Townes that in* this ſecond Voyage were diſcouered. Together *with the Nations, and Caſſiques or Captaines* that doe inhabite them.

| | Riuers. | Nations. | Townes | Captain. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *Arrowari* great. | Arwaos Pararweas. *Charibes.* | | | 1 Theſe are enemies to the Iaos, their money is of white and greene ſtones. They ſpeak the Tiuitiuas language: ſo, likewiſe doe the nation of the Arricarri, who haue greater ſtore of theſe moneyes then any others. |
| 2 | *Iwaripoco.* very great | Mapurwanas. Iaos. | | | |
| 3 | *Maiparig.* | Arricarri. | | | 2 Here it was, as it ſemeth, that Vincent Pinzon, the Spaniard, had his Emeralds. In one of theſe two riuers, certain French mé that ſuffered ſhipwrack ſome two or three yeares ſince, do liue. |
| 4 | *Caipurogh. g.* | Arricurri. | | | |
| 5 | *Arcooa. g* | Marowannas. *Cha.* | | | 3. 4. 5. Theſe with the other 2 ſeem to be brauches of the great riuer of Amazones. When wee |
| 6 | *Wiapoco. g* | Coonoracki Wacacoia. Wariſeaco. *Charib.* | | | |
| 7 | *Wanari.* | | | | |

firſt

| | Riuers. | Nations. | Towns | Capta. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | *Capur-wacka. g.* | Charibes. | | |
| 9 | *Cawo. g.* | Iaos. | Icooma-na. | Wareo. |
| 10 | *Wia. g.* | Maworia. *Charib.* | Paramõ-na. g. | Maſhwi-po |
| 11 | *Caiane. g.* | Wiaco. Ch. | Canawi. g | |
| | Gowateri:a great Iland | Shebaios. | Orinike-ro. | Para-watteo. |
| 12 | *Macuria.* | Piraos. Ch. | | |
| 13 | *Cawroora* | Arawaccos *Charib.* | | |
| 14 | *Manma-nuri.* | Ipaios. Ch. | | |
| 15 | *Cureey.* | Shebaios. | | |
| 16 | *Curaſſa-wini.* | Shebaios. | Muſſwa-ra. g. | Ocapa-nio. |

firſt fell with land, wee were, by the Indians report, but one dayes iorney from the greateſt riuer, that is on that coaſt.

6 The firſt mountains that appear within land doe lie on the Eaſt ſide of this riuer. From the mouth thereof, the inhabitants do paſſe with their Canoas in twenty daies to the ſalt lake, where *Manoa* ſtandeth. The water hath manie Cateractes like *Caroli*, but that they are of greater diſtance one frõ another. where it falles into the ſea, hilles doe incloſe it, on both ſides.

10 The Freſhet ſhoots out into the ſea, with great force: the ſea doth here ſometimes campe high, and breake, as if it were full of rockes. but in prooffe it is nothing els but the pride and force of the tydes. In this baye, and round about, ſo farre as the mountaines doe extend there is great ſtore of Braſill wood, ſome of it bearing far darker collour then other ſome. Here are alſo manie ſortes of other good woods.

14 Theſe ſpeake the lan-

| | Riuers. | Nations. | Townes. | Captains | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17 | *Cunanama.* | Iaos. Arwaccas. | Waritappi. g | Carinamari. Curipotoore. | language of the Indians of *Dominica.* They are but few, but verie cruell to their enemies. For they bind, and eat them aliue pe ece-meale. This torment is not comparable to the dedlie pains that commeth of hurtes, or woundes, made by those arrowes that ar inuenomed with the iuice of the hearbe *Wapototo.* These Indians because they eat the whom they kill, vse no poyson. The sea coast is no where populous, for they haue much wasted themselues in mutuall warres. But now in all partes so farre as *Orenoque,* they liue in league and peace. |
| 18 | *Vracco.* | Arwaccas. | | Marwabo. | |
| | *Moruga.* | Arwaccas. | | Eramacoa. | |
| 19 | *Mawari.* | Winicinas. Arwaccas. | Iwanama. | Aranacoa. | |
| 20 | *Mawarpari.* | Arwaccas. | Awaricana. | Mahahoneto. | |
| 21 | *Amonna.* very great *Capeleppo.* | Charibes. | Iaremappo *very great.* | | |
| 22 | *Maravini.g.* | Paracuttos | | | |
| 23 | *Owcowi.* | | | | |
| 24 | *Wiawiami* | | | | |
| 25 | *Aramatappo.* | | | | |
| 26 | *Wiapo.* | | | | |
| 27 | *Macurruma.* | | | | |
| 28 | *Carapi.* | | | | |
| 29 | *Vraca.* | | | | |

21 Nere the head of this riuer, *Capeleppo* falleth out of the plaines, & runneth into the sea with *Curiuini.* Some of the Guianians liue in this riuer.

29 This riuer, as also most of the rest, is not nauigable aboue six daies ior-

| | Riuers. | Nations. | Townes. | Captains | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30 | *Chaimawinini.g.* | Carepini. *Charib.* | | | iourney by reason of rockes. It is ten daies iorney to the heade, where the Guianians do dwel Honey, yarne of Cotton, Silke, Balsamum, and Brasill beddes are hereto bee had in plentie, and so all the coast alougst Eastwarde. Some Images of Golde, spleenestones, and others, may bee gotten on this coast, but they doe somewhat extraordinariliy esteeme of them, because euery where they are current money. They get their Moones, and other peeces of gold by exchange, taking for ech one of their greater Canoas, one peece or image of golde, with three heads, and after that rate for their lesser Canoas, they receiue peeces of golde of lesse value. One hatchet is the ordinary price for a Canoa. They haue euery where diuers sortes of drugges, Gummes, & rootes, which |
| 31 | *Ecrowto.* | Vpotommas. | | | |
| 32 | *Pawro.* | Arwaccas. | Maripomma. | Caponaiarie. | |
| 33 | *Shurinama.g.* | Carepini. *Cha.* | | | |
| 34 | *Shuramag.* | Carepini. *Cha.* | Cupari. | | |
| 35 | *Northũbria, or Cupanama. very g* | Arwaccas. | | | |
| 36 | *Wioma.* | | | | |
| 37 | *Cushwini.* | Neekeari. | Tawrooromene | Neperwari. | |
| 38 | *Inana.g.* | | Owaripoore. | | |
| 39 | *Curitini.g* | Carepini. Arwaccas. Parawianni | Mawronama. Maiapoore Cariwacka. Aneta. | | |
| 40 | *Wirit Wari. g.* | | Manacobeece. Eppera. Parawiannos. | | |
| 41 | *Berbice.g.* | Arwaccas. | Lupulee. | Warawaroco. | |
| 42 | *Wapari.* | Shebaios. Arwaccas. | Madewini. | Benmurwagh. | |
| 43 | *Maicawini.* | Panapi. Arwaccas. | Itewee. | Caporaco. *great Cap.* | |
| 44 | *Mahawaica.* | Arwaccas. | Maburesa.g | | |

| | Riuers. | Nations. | Townes. | Captains | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 45 | *Lemerare.g.* | wacawaios. | Mabureſa.g | | which I doubt, not by father tri al, will be found medicinable | **So called after the name of the right ho. the Earle of Eſſex.* |
| 46 | **Deuoritia, or Deſſekebe. very g.* | Arwaccas. Iaos. Shebaios. Arwaccas. | | | | |
| | *Matorooni.* | Charibes. | | | *Names of poyſoned hearbes.* | |
| | *Coowini.* | Maripai. | | | | |
| | *Chipanama.* | wocowaios | | | Ourari. | |
| | *Arawanna.* | Parawianni | | | Caraſſi. | |
| | *Itorebece.* | Iwarewakeri. | Caiaremappo. | | Aparecpo. | |
| | | | waroopana | | Parapara. | |
| 47 | *Pawrooma.g.* | Iaos. | Maripa. | Macapowa. | *Hearbes good against poyſon.* | |
| | *Aripacoro.* | Panipi. | Chiparipa- | Shuracoi- | | |
| | *Ecawini.* | | ro. | ma. | Turara. | |
| | *Manuriwini.* | | Towtwi. | | Cutarapama. | |
| | | | Sarinbugh. | | Wapo. | |
| | | | Wariwagh. | | Macatto. | |
| 48 | *Maruga. g.* | Iaos. | Coopa- | Manareco- | | |
| | *Piara.* | Arwaccas. | roore.g. | wa. | The 29. day of Iune we arriued in Portland Roade, hauing ſpente fiue moneths in going, ſtaying, and returning. | |
| | *Chaimeragoro.* | | Awiapari. | Iarwarema | | |
| | | | Topoo. | | | |
| 49 | *Waini.g.* | Charibes. | Tocoopoi- | Parana, | | |
| | | | ma. g. | | | |
| 50 | *Barima. g.* | Charibes. | Pekwa.g. | Anawra. | | |
| | *Caitooma.* | Arwaccas. | Arwakima. | Aparwa. | | |
| | *Arooca.* | | | Arracurri. | | |
| 51 | *Amacur. g.* | | | | | |
| 52 | *Aratoori. g.* | | | | | |
| | *Cawrooma.g.* | | | | | |
| | *Raleana, or Orenoque.* | | | | | |
| | *Maipar* | Ilandes in mouth of Raleana. | | | | |
| | *Itacaponca* | | | | | |
| | *Owarecapater.* | | | | | |
| | *Warucanaſſo.* | | | | | |

Heere followe the names, of those worthie Spaniardes that haue sought to discouer and conquere *Guiana*: Extracted out of the writinges of *Iuan de Castellanos clerigo*, who compiled the booke, intituled,

*Primera parte de las Elegias de varones illustres de Indias.*

1 THe enterprise of *Guiana* was vndertaken by *Diego de Ordas* of the kingdom of *Leon*, in the yeare, 1531. He was one of the Captaines of *Cortes* in the conquest of *Mexico*. This *Ordas* made his entrance by the riuer of *Amana*, by which we entered, and spent fiftie dayes before hee came to the riuer of *Orenoque*, which we past in fifteene. Hee named the riuer by which he entred *Viapari*; which name it still retaineth in the Spanish descriptions. It lieth South from *Trinidado* some fiue leagues. He transported out of *Spaine* a thousand souldiours. He dyed afterwardes at sea, in returning for *Spaine*.

2 *Iuan Corteso* arriued at the riuer of *Amazones* or *Oreliano* with three hundred men: Hee marched vp into the countrey. But neither he, nor any of his companie did returne againe.

3 *Gaspar de Sylua*, with his two brothers, departed from *Tenerife*, accompanied with 200. men, to assist *Diego de Ordas*. They sought *El Dorado* by the riuer of *Amazones*: but staying there a short time, they fell down to *Trinidado*, where they all three were buried.

4 *Iuan Gonzales* set saile from *Trinidado* to discouer the *Guiana*. He reposed himselfe more on the faith of his guides the on his small number of men. He by triall found the confines of *Guiana*, so far as he entred, to be populous, plentiful of victuall, & rich in gold. Vpon such proofes as he brought with him, to make good his report: manie others aduentured to follow his steps.

5. 6. *Phi-*

5. 6. *Philip de Vren*, and after him *Pedro de Limpias*, who both succeſsiuelie commaunded the *Almaines*, were leaders in this action. *Limpias* was ſlaine by an Indian Caſsique named *Porima*.

7 *Ieronimo de Ortall* vndetrooke it by the way of *Marecupana*. After great trauell and his ſubſtance all ſpent, he dyed on the ſudden at *S. Domingo*.

8. 9. *Ximenes*, brother of *Don Ximenes de Queſida* the *Lantado*, and *Pedro de Oſua*, were both at ſundrie times in the ſame queſt.

10 Father *Iala*, a Frier, taking with him onelie one companion, and ſome Indian guides paſſed into the prouinces of *Guiana*. He returned with good intelligence, & brought with him Eagles, Idols, and other iewels of golde. An. 1560. He aſſayed the ſecond time to paſſe in like maner, but was ſlaine by the Indians.

11 *Hernandes de Serpa* alſo vndertooke it. The Indians of *Cumanawgoto* killed him, and defeated his Armie.

12 Afterwards, *Diego de Vargas*, and his ſonne *Don Iuan* followed this enterpriſe, and at their firſt ſetting out, were ſlaine by the Indians.

13 *Caceres* vndertooke this diſcouerie from *Nueuo Reino de Granada*. He came no neerer to it thē *Matachines*, which borders vpon the ſaid kingdom of *Granada*: He reſted there and peopled that place.

14 It was alſo attempted by *Alonzo de Herera*, at two ſeuerall times. He endured great miſerie, but neuer entred one league into the countrey. He ſought it by *Viapari*, or *Amana*, and was at laſt ſlaine by a nation of Indians called *Iaguas*.

15 It was alſo vndertaken by *Antonio Sedenno*, with whō *Herera* and *Auguſtine Delgado* ioyned in the conqueſt of *Trinidado*, againſt *Baweunar* a famous king of that place. He paſſed by *Marecupana* in the yeare 1536. to diſcouer *El Dorado* with 500. choſen men. In this iourny he got much gold

and tooke manie Indian priſoners; whome he manacled in yrons, manie of them died as they were led in the way. The Tygres being fleſhed on thoſe dead carkaſſes, aſſaulted the Spaniards, who with much trouble hardlie defended themſelues from them. *Sedenno* was buried within the precinct of the Empire neere the head of the riuer *Tinados*. Moſt of his people periſhed likewiſe.

16 *Auguſtine Delgado* ſearched the country to the ſouthward of *Cumanawgoto* with 53. footmen, and three horſmen. The warres that were then between the Indians of the vale, and thoſe of the mountaines, ſerued well for his purpoſe. By which occaſion he found meanes to paſſe ſo farre, vntill hee came to an Indian Caſſique, named *Garamentall*, who entertained him with al kindnes. And gaue him for a preſent ſome rich iewels of gold: ſix ſeemlie Pages: ten young ſlaues, and three Nymphes verie beautifull, which bore the names of three prouinces from whence they were ſent to *Garamental*, cheife Commander of all that countrey. Their names were, *Guanba*, *Gotoguane*, and *Maiarare*. Theſe prouinces are of an excellent temperature, verie healthful, and haue an admirable influence in producing beautifull women. The Spaniards afterwards to requite the manifold curteſies that they receiued in that countrey, tooke and caried away, beſides all the gold that they could get, al the Indians that they could lay hold on: they conueyed them in yrons to *Cubagua*, and ſolde them for ſlaues. *Delgado* afterwards was ſhot in the eie by an Indian: of which hurt he died.

17 *Diego de Loſada*, ſucceeded in his brothers place. Hee had manie more men; who in the end waſted themſelues in mutinies: thoſe that liued returned to *Cubugua*.

18 *Reynoſo* vndertooke this iourney: but hauing endured exceeding troubles, in the diſcomfort of his minde, hee gaue it ouer, and was buried in *Hiſpaniola*.

19 *Pedro de Urſua*, in the yeare 1560. ſought it with 400 Spaniards, by the riuer *Oreliano*. He imbarqued his men in the

the country of the *Motilones*. As they passed downe the riuer, they found Synamon trees. His men murdered him, and afterward the said rebels beheaded Lady *Anes* his wife, who forsooke not her Lord in all his trauels vnto death.

20 Fryer *Francis Montesinos*, was in the prouince of *Marecupana* with 100. souldiors bound for the *Guiana*, when *Lope Aguirri* the Tyrant made insurrection in all those partes of the Indies. What became of this intended iourney is not expressed.

In the discouerie of *Guiana*, you may read both of *Oreliano*, who discouered the riuer of *Amazones* An. 1510. and of *Berreo*, with others that haue trode this maze, and lost themselues in seeking to find this countrie.

## An aduertisment to the Reader.

IN this Breuiarie, the names onlie are comprised of such as being led with the generall fame of *Guiana*, haue endeuoured to discouer & possesse it. The whole histories are long and cannot suddenlie be translated, or Englished at large, as we in these Elegies find them. It may perhaps seeme strange and incredible, that so manie Caualeros should all faile in this one attempt, since in many partes of the Indies, far smaller numbers in shorter time haue performed as great matters, and subdued mightie Kingdoms: I haue therefore thought it good, here to alleadge those reasons, which by circumstance may be gathered to haue beene chief impediments to the Spaniard in this intended search & conquest.

The first may be the remoteneslle or distance of their places of *Rendeuow*, from the *Dorado*: which appeare to be foure, *Nueuo Reyno*: the mouth of *Amazones* or *Oreliano*. *Cubagua*, or the coast of the *Caracka*: & *Trinidado*.

1. From *Moiobanda*, where *Oreliano* hath his head-spring to his mouth the Spaniards account it 2000. leagues. *Raleana* riseth neere the saide mountaines in *Moiabanda*, and tributeth his waters to the sea, not farre from the other: *Guiana* is enuironed with these two fresh water seas, wher their distance is greatest from their risinges, and is besides guarded with impassable mountains, which inclose & defend it on al partes, excepting *Topiawaries* country. It is no maruel then, if the vigor, heat, & life of those Spaniards, who sought it from *Nueuo Reyno*, were allayed and spent, before they came nere it in those long, desolate, and vncomfortable waies.

2. From *Cubagua* to seek it by sea, in vessels of any burthen, is a worke of farre greater labour, then to saile directly from *Spaine*. And to passe

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ouerland is a matter of great difficultie, by reason that the Indian Nations inhabiting between the coast of the *Caracas* and *Guiana*, being wearied and harried with the daylie incursions of the Spauiards, haue now turned their abused patience into furie, refusing to suffer any forces of men to be led through their countries. For the Spaniards trauelling in those parts, when they found not golde answerable to their expectation, ouerlaid them with cruelties, tyrannie, and thraldom: forbearing neither men, women: friends, nor foes. Which maner of dealing, though in some sort it satisfied their desire of present profit: yet hath it otherwise done them much harme in hardening and driuing those nations to desperate resolutions.

3 From the mouth of *Oreliano* to seeke entrance with any number of men, and to bore a hole through the mountaines, is all one. Neither find we, that any seeking it that way, haue at anie time boasted of their gaines or pleasurable iourneyes.

4 From *Trinidado* as the course is shortest: so doth it promise best likelihood of successe. Howbeit, impossible it is with any vessell of ordinarie burthen by that way to recouer the riuer of *Raleana*.

The second. The Spaniards haue bene so far from furthering and helping on another, or admitting partners or coadiutors in the *Guiana* cause that amongst so many attempts, from the beginning to the last, I cannot find any one, when they were otherwise likliest to preuaile, free from discords, mutinies, and cruel murders amongst themselues.

Thirdly. The Spaniards in this place haue missed that aduantage, which els where hath steeled them in all their conquests: namelie, the dissentitions and mutuall warres of the Indians amongst themselues. Which of what force it is, may be gathered by the example of *Arawcania* in *Peru*. For the Indians of that one prouince containing in circuit not aboue 20 leagues, haue maintained warres aboue these 30. yeares, against all the Spaniards, and in despight of them haue kept their own countrie, oftentimes discomforting their enemies in many set battayles, burning & destroying some of their strongest townes. The chiefe reason wherof I take to be, because no Indian nation was enemy vnto them. And howsoeuer the Spaniards vaunt of their redoubted exploits in the Indies: yet do their owne writings in effect testifie, that without the aid of the Indians diuided amongst themselues, *Mexico*, *Peru*, and the rest, had neuer bene Spanish.

Lastly. I can impute it to no cause so rightly, as immediately to the diuine prouidence. For by him princes raigne. And in my beleefe (except we will looke to be warned by miracle from heauen,) we need no farther assurances, then we already haue to perswade our selues that it hath pleased our God of his infinit goodnesse, in his will and purpose to appoint and reserue this Empire for vs.

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